

The London Quarterly and Holborn Review

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, LITERATURE,
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APRIL, 1938

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THE FIELD-PREACHER

BY THE REV. R. SCOTT FRAYN, B.A., B.D.

The holy huntsman rides his leisured horse,
Pilgrim and pardoner, a gentle knight
Meekly caparisoned, and with no sleight
Of subtle blade, or panoply of force.

Skilful in physic and the scholar's course,
In music, and more manifold delight
Of Jesu's Gospel, he will halt, invite,
And from a tree attest salvation's Source.

So was the story told when Mary's Son,
By meadow, market and the glooming mere,
Wandered, and waited on us, every one.
So shall His Gospel girdle every sphere,
Toiler to toiler shall the tidings toss,
Till every star is tongued to tell His Cross.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW

APRIL, 1938

THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE AS A LIBERAL EDUCATION

I

IN connexion with the fourth century celebrations in 1938 of the placing of the Bible in every parish church the laudable effort is being made to use the occasion to promote the reading of the Bible, a good custom which it is generally believed is now being more honoured in the breach than the observance.

(1) In view of what the Bible has proved to be in personal experience and national history, this is an effort which deserves all possible help and encouragement. More than can be computed has been accomplished for intellectual stimulus, moral discernment and religious conviction by familiarity with the Bible. One of the greatest benefits conferred by the Reformation has been the Open Bible; and great indeed will be the loss if Christian people neglect that channel of Christian truth and grace. In pastoral visitation I have discovered the value of the Bible for personal culture in simple, unlettered men and women, who are of the spiritual aristocracy, 'the salt of the earth'.

(2) On the other hand it must be admitted that the too common assumption that 'private judgement' necessarily goes with the Open Bible, that every man can interpret any part of the Bible for himself, and can claim to be an authoritative exponent, has its dangers. The multitude of 'freak' sects, which, especially in the United States, divide and so weaken Protestantism, is an evidence of the urgent need of competent and thus authoritative exposition. It would be well if all readers of the Bible shared the humility

of the Ethiopian eunuch, and confessed their need of an interpreter (Acts viii. 31). Accordingly I should join with the appeal for Bible reading a plea for Bible study. On Christian ministers I should urge three considerations.

(A) Let them encourage their people to engage in that study by showing the need and the interest of it. In many churches there is now no Minister's Bible Class, a great mistake and loss. If the revival of such a class is not practicable, other means should be devised, the aim being not merely edification, but also education. I cannot and do not distinguish a devotional from a scholarly study of the Bible; that cannot be for lasting profit which is not according to enduring truth. If people could be got to read the Revised Version with consultation of the marginal notes, that would be something gained. Still more, if they could be induced to read Dr. Moffatt's translation, they would read with more understanding. Persuade them that Introductions to the Old and New Testaments, of which the high value is not to be measured by the low price, are not dull, but interesting reading. A contrast is sometimes made between reading the Bible and reading *about* the Bible, to the exaltation of the one and the depreciation of the other. This sounds pious, but is stupid. Of course reading about the Bible must never be a substitute for reading the Bible, but it is a desirable and valuable complement to it.

(B) I am quite sure that preaching should be much more expository; that does not mean a running commentary on a Scripture passage, for a sermon ought to have a unity and one subject (not necessarily only one idea); but the exposition of the subject can be used to familiarize the hearers with the wide range of truth, which is contained in the Bible. If a preacher knows his Bible as he ought, he will get not only his text and outline, but much of the contents of the sermon from the Bible itself. His presentation need not have an antiquarian, but may have a contemporary interest and application. I wish we could go further and use one of the

meetings on the Lord's Day for a systematic and scholarly treatment of the Bible as a whole from the literary and historical as well as the ethical and theological standpoint. Such a venture might recover for attendance some who are growing indifferent. I am sure that we need less uniformity, and more variety in our public worship, for in my judgement such a study, the endeavour to understand the *worth* of God's gift in the literature of His revelation, is *worship*.

(c) These two considerations involve the third, that the minister himself must be a competent, diligent and enthusiastic student of the Bible. I suppose it is necessary for him to read the newspapers so that he may know what is going on in the world, and some contemporary literature, so that he may be familiar with what people are thinking; but he will pay dearly for his up-to-dateness if he neglects the record of what has been, is and will be the most important content of human history—God's manifestation and communication of Himself to man, where 'the white radiance of eternity' streams through and is not broken by 'time's dome of many-coloured glass'. No man can sustain an effective ministry in the pulpit who does not maintain a rigid discipline in the study. My endeavour in the remainder of this article will be to show that the study of the Bible is no limitation of personal culture, but in itself 'a liberal education', for it opens up so many avenues of research, that, like Tennyson's 'flower in the crannied wall', it can lead us to a knowledge, as wide as God and man is. I do not profess to be a Biblical expert. My studies have had a wider range, but I have tried to understand and appreciate the labour of experts.

II

(1) Any scholarly study of the Bible must begin with a knowledge of the *languages* in which it is written. When I was at college, Hebrew and Greek were regarded as necessary for the equipment of a minister. During all the years of my ministry I kept up the study of both. I now greatly regret

that I did not learn Aramaic, as I recognize how necessary Aramaic is, not only for the study of those parts of the Old Testament which are in Aramaic, but still more for the interpretation of the teaching of Jesus, who spoke Aramaic, and the understanding of the Johannine and Pauline literature. To get the meaning of such terms as 'Son of Man', 'Kingdom of God', we must get back to the words Jesus Himself used. It is maintained by some scholars that the Fourth Gospel was in Aramaic, and that differences in the Synoptic Gospels can be explained by variant rendering of Aramaic words. When I confront such problems I am always humbled by my ignorance of that language. The study of the New Testament has in recent years been greatly advanced by a growing knowledge of the *Koinè*, the contemporary vernacular, which presents many differences from classical Greek, of which the expositor must take account. For one who is interested in language as such, there is an added interest, in the contrast between Hebrew and Greek, as regards roots, grammar and syntax, the one Semitic and the other Aryan. Thus a door is opened, even if few can enter, into the spacious chamber of comparative philology. To study how men have conveyed thought through speech in such manifold ways has itself a thrilling human interest. Unlike as these two languages are, they have to a large extent a common alphabet. Thus we pass from sounds to signs, from spoken to written language.

(2) The word *alphabet* is composed of the names of the first two letters in Greek, *alpha* and *beta*. The first two letters in Hebrew are *aleph* and *beth*. Both alphabets have probably their origin in Phoenicia, although some claim the invention for Egypt. The Hebrew words have got a definite meaning; *Aleph* means a yoke-beast, ox or heifer, and *Beth*, house or tent (as in name Bethel, house of God). The earliest form of *Aleph* represented the animal's head, and of *Beth* the dwelling's shape. Thus we learn that behind the alphabet, and the translation of sounds into letters as their significant signs, there lies picture-writing, a sketch of the object signified,

as in the Chinese characters. Here another door opens into the history of writing. For the Biblical student, however, what is of immediate interest is the study of the text in manuscripts. To read these MSS. requires a special training in palaeography. Textual criticism, the comparison of the available texts, with a view of getting as nearly as possible to the original writings, is a highly technical, but not the less interesting subject, which leads beyond the manuscripts themselves to an investigation of translations, and quotations in other writings. A recent use of textual criticism in dealing with literary criticism deserves mention, e.g., Canon Streeter's contribution to tracing the sources of the Synoptic Gospels in different localities. In the same connexion may be mentioned also the recent method of *Form-Geschichte*, the attempt to get behind the written Gospels to the *traditions*, which are embodied in them, the varied forms of these traditions, and the motives of their formation. While this discipline cannot be dismissed as a mare's nest, many scholars are inclined to challenge the too confident claims which have been made for it.

(3) Much of the Bible is not only written language, but may be described as *literature*. When thought is conveyed in writing not merely for imparting information, but when attention is given to the mode of the conveyance, so that it shall have a value of its own—interest, beauty, impressiveness and effectiveness—we have literature. This result may be brought about without any express intention, and where there is the intention the result does not always follow. There is the intention in many parts of the Bible to convey the truth with grace and charm. We have poetry as well as prose, oratory as well as plain speech, sublime writing as well as profound thinking. But as I have written at length on this subject previously,¹ I do not pursue it any further here, although I do commend this study as of great interest. We do not less esteem the heavenly treasure by admiring its earthen vessel.

¹ *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, July, 1937.

(4) To understand a writing, we want to learn as much as we can about the author, the date, the occasion, the purpose, the literary form and the historical value. This inquiry is the function of the *Higher Criticism*.

(A) I can remember the time when the term was misinterpreted ignorantly or maliciously, to discredit the method, and to excite the prejudice of Christian people against it; and it was my privilege to hear Dr. W. R. Smith's course of lectures on *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, in defence of it. *Criticism* means judgement, not fault-finding, the endeavour to reach true knowledge by examining the data available. *Higher* is used not as a claim to superiority, but simply in contrast to *Lower* as applied to Textual Criticism. Reverence for the Bible was a characteristic of these earlier Higher Critics, and marks most of them still.

(B) It cannot be maintained that the Higher Criticism need not make any difference in the way in which the Bible is regarded. To assign to a writing another authorship and a later date than tradition has done must necessarily have a bearing on the historical value we allow to it. Our estimate of the historicity of the *Pentateuch* must be affected by our conclusion as to the Mosaic authorship. What the critic may set aside is, not the internal evidence of the writing itself, but the external evidence of much later tradition, which is less valuable. Nor can it be maintained that the historical value of any writing is a matter of indifference to Christian faith. The conclusion that the *Chronicles* are of much later date, and show more bias than the *Kings* need not trouble the peace of mind of any Christian. But whether the Gospel narratives are trustworthy or not does matter very much. Whether the Resurrection as a fact restored the wavering faith of the disciples, or the steadfast faith of the disciples produced the belief in the Resurrection and provided the alleged evidence for it, is a crucial issue for the Christian Church. Such an affirmation or such a denial is not, however,

a question that literary or historical criticism can finally answer; the history of the Christian Church, the experience of Christian believers, the conception of God formed by Christian theology, the conception of the relation of the world to God to which philosophy has led—all these are necessary factors in the formation of a judgement on so momentous a matter. While criticism makes Fundamentalism impossible for those who do not ignore nor challenge its legitimacy, it by no means makes Modernism as a denial of the reality of Revelation, Incarnation and Resurrection inevitable. The extension of the Higher Criticism in the Religious-Historical method is by no means necessary; as its two added principles of the *correlation* of all events in a necessary sequence, and the levelling *comparison* of Christ to other teachers or leaders in the things of God, involve assumptions which lie beyond the competence of the methods of criticism. It is evident that criticism does involve an extension of the studies necessary, beyond those immediately concerned with the Bible itself, but an extension to be welcomed.

(c) In my judgement the change in our conception and estimate of the Bible is gain. It has relieved the Christian reason and conscience of the theological and ethical incubus which the belief in the Bible as a verbally or even plenary inspired, finally and absolutely authoritative text-book of science, history, theology and ethics, imposed. The conception of a progressive revelation has delivered the Christian Church from bondage to the lower, although relatively to time and place valuable, stages of the divine education of mankind, while preserving the treasures of truth of permanent and universal value. It has focused the noontide radiance of the divine revelation on the person of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and thus in affording a criterion has enabled us even in the New Testament to distinguish what is transitory in the Hebrew and Jewish inheritance and enduring in the distinctive contribution to human thought and life in the Word become

flesh. If we cannot now claim that the whole Bible is identical with the Word of God, we can affirm that it contains and conveys that Word; and how enthralling in interest is the study, which enables us to hear God speak to us!

III

If we come to the Bible, equipped with a knowledge of the languages, the Lower and the Higher Criticism, to how many other studies do the contents allure us?

(1) The first chapter of Genesis confronts us at once with the issue; is there or is there not a necessary conflict between science and religion? As one who in his youth was much distressed by the attempts to reconcile Genesis and geology, by denunciations of the theory of evolution, especially as presented in the Darwinian hypothesis, and who knew not a few who were driven from the Church by its mistaken attitude, that study had a vital interest. If within the Church to-day theologians deny the necessity of any such conflict because the Bible is not, and was not meant to be, a textbook of science, yet outside the Church there are still writers, whose arrogance is equalled only by their ignorance, who, assuming that the former attitude is still dominant, seek to discredit the Christian faith as an enemy of science. Such a study, therefore, is not out of date, and it is one to which my duties as a teacher demanded my close attention; for me science offers no challenge to Christian monotheism.

(2) The second and third chapters bring us face to face with *mythology*, the symbolic expression of ancient religious belief. It is now admitted by scholars that these chapters are in no sense history, but are borrowed from Babylonian mythology, as are other parts of Genesis, and much imagery in the Psalms and Apocalyptic literature. Before the intellect presents religious beliefs as doctrines, the imagination embodies truth in a tale; and here the belief about the making of man by God and his marring by sin is told in a naïve story. But Christian theology cannot build on such a foundation, as

some reactionary theologians of to-day seem to be doing. It is to biology, anthropology and psychology we must turn for an understanding of man and his sin, which need not be in contradiction of the estimate of man to which Christian theology leads. It is *archaeology* which is providing us with not only this mythological material, but also with the historical setting of the story of Israel.

(3) In that historical setting there pass before us the Ancient Empires of the world around the Eastern Mediterranean—Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Persia, disclose the buried treasures of their civilizations, culture, morals and religion. Still later Greece and Rome come into the picture. India, China, Japan, Peru must not be ignored as non-existent, as we are only too prone to do, in thinking only of the immediate inheritance of our Modern World from the Ancient. But for the Bible student it is these empires which come into consideration. Would there have been so much archaeological exploration, had the Bible not commanded the interest it does? Around this rock of a small nation, the scene of God's progressive revelation, the waves of these Ancient Empires flow and break. They are no more, but each of them in the providence of God offered the occasion to inspired prophets to speak in His name and with His authority. It is surely no exaggeration to say that the interest of the history of the past finds a focus in the outward vicissitudes and the inward development of Israel. In the Biblical narrative we have not only myth, but also legend, which is not necessarily fictitious, but may preserve facts, and annals; but all the history is written with a religious purpose, to record God's dealings with His people.

(4) How interesting are the glimpses we get of the development of civilization and culture, morals and religions! The story of Cain and Abel presents the contrast of the pastoral and the agricultural stage with a preference for the former; the story of Esau and Jacob the necessary supersession of the predatory by the pastoral stage. Fire, stone, and beast

worship are shown to have survived, even when the higher development had begun. *Anthropology*, or the science of human origins, can find material in the Bible; and the student will be better equipped for his task, if he can compare beliefs, rites, and customs in Israel with those of other peoples. In the Law itself, late as may have been its final codification, there survives much from very early days of man's development. In the popular religion in contrast to the prophetic, Semitic heathenism preserves its superstitions and corruptions. Hosea's description of the popular religion can be understood only as a syncretism of Yahveh and Ba'al worship. The study of the institution of sacrifice cannot be confined to what the Bible contains; the comparative study of religions must lend its aid, as Dr. W. Robertson Smith has shown in his book, *The Religion of the Semites*. Man is dependent on Nature, and his drama has the earth as its stage. The history of the Hebrews cannot be understood fully apart from the *geography* of Palestine. Has not Sir George Adam Smith shown this conclusively in his book on *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*? If 'soil' must be considered no less must 'blood'. The presence of the Jews in our midst, although they are now no 'pure race' reminds us of the difference which 'race' has made, and is still making. The Hebrews belonged to the Semitic and not the Aryan family of peoples, and although our Christian conviction of the common origin and the common destiny of all mankind forbids any prejudice or partiality, yet differences must be recognized; and these were prominent and dominant then as they need not be to-day in the mingling of all nations. Among the Arabs of to-day there survives something that throws light on the Hebrews of olden times. *Ethnology* as well as *anthropology* has its contribution to make.

(5) Turning now to the New Testament, its contents cannot be understood from the Old Testament, and the Jewish apocryphal and apocalyptic literature alone. The Christian Church is set in a wider environment; not Palestine alone,

but the Roman Empire provides the stage for the drama it unfolds; and Greek culture as well as language was widely diffused in that Empire. Paul's education was dominantly Jewish, but he was not untouched by Greek culture. Even if the influence of the mystery religions was much less than has been contended, the world into which the Gospel came had been influenced. Sir Wm. Ramsay has shown how in Paul, the Christian apostle was affected by the Roman citizen, and how impossible his labours would have been in any other environment. The Christian minister's primary obligation is to be at home in the theology and the ethics of the Bible, especially the New Testament; he must receive for himself, and convey to others the Word of God. So obvious is this fact, that it need not be further insisted on. What I have tried to do is to show that if he takes his task as seriously as he ought, in his study of the Bible he can acquire a 'liberal education' as well as divine truth and grace.

A. E. GARVIE.

PARETO, PROPHET OF FASCISM

AT one stage in his early career as a journalist, Mussolini, finding himself in exile, chose to spend part of that exile in Lausanne. The chair of Political Economy at the University was occupied at the time by an Italian with French blood in his veins, Vilfredo Pareto by name, and we know that the future Dictator attended his lectures. There is much in Pareto's thought which explains the contemporary development in Italy, and one of the first acts of the founder of Fascism was to offer him the position of delegate at Geneva for the Italian Government in the discussions then pending on disarmament. The honour was declined, but in 1923 he accepted the dignity of Senator, and his works enjoyed an immense popularity in his native country at the time of his death in August of the same year.

Vilfredo Pareto was born in Paris in that memorable year 1848, the son of a Genoese exile, republican in his opinions, and a Frenchwoman. At the age of ten, he returned to Italy with his parents, and was educated at Turin. There he acquired that mastery of mathematics and that rich knowledge of classical antiquity which were to be the distinguishing features of his subsequent work. At first, however, he revealed practical rather than academic aptitudes, distinguishing himself as engineer and railway director. But some published incursions into the mathematical developments of economic theory drew to him the attention of Walras, then professor at Lausanne, and their friendship ended in his appointment as the latter's successor in 1893. Up to this point, he had been politically active as an ardent free-trader and an enemy of the militarism which he saw to be rearing its head in his country. But his appointment as professor brought with it a revolution in his outlook; he became austere, objective, sternly academic, and even sceptical to the border of cynicism.

Pareto's writings were in Italian and French. He is said to have known English, but not German. The bibliographical pages of his *Trattato di Sociologia Generale* suggest an erudition the reality of which is confirmed by the numerous illustrations in the body of the work, drawn particularly from classical authors. In addition to the work just mentioned, his *Systèmes Socialistes* is of chief interest to the reader whose concern is rather with Pareto's influence upon Fascism than with his contributions to economic theory.

The *Sociologia* is a cold douche administered to our comfortable belief in ourselves as rational animals, a pitilessly scientific exposure of the unscientific habits of man in society. Social phenomena yield, as the field of study for the sociologist, 'the manifestations, in act and word, of instincts, sentiments, inclinations, appetites, interests, &c., and the logical or pseudo-logical conclusions which are drawn from such manifestations'. This description suggests a further classification into the logical and the non-logical manifestations. To take a simple case: a shipping firm refuses a charter for one of its vessels on the ground that the risks attending the projected voyage are too great; here we have an objective consideration of ascertainable facts and a decision based thereon. But the man who arrives at that decision may the same day refuse to sit thirteen at table, or back a horse because it is sixth on the list and six is his 'lucky number'; here we are clearly in a quite different region.

Pareto's own choice is for the scientific mode of thought, but he is conscious of the limits in which the scientist must work. In the first place, he has to accept the fact that the greater part of human life is given up to thought-processes very different from his own, and to refrain from passing any judgement on the value of these. They exist, and their standards are not his; so much he can say, but no more. And in the second place, he must not suppose that his science can put him into possession of that elusive treasure, truth. For Pareto takes his stand with those who hold that science

can describe, but not explain, that it is 'economical' in character, providing us with generalizations which serve as convenient summaries for whole masses of isolated facts, but can never give us the 'essence' of phenomena. All laws are only more or less probable; indeed, we have no right to say more than that things happen *as if* they were governed by certain uniformities.

Pareto having seen, as an economist, the triumph of scientific method as applied to his own science after so many generations of guess-work and theorizing, sets out to reduce the territory of sociology to order in a similar way. Human action in society, he holds, is inexplicable on the assumption that men are determined by ends which they choose and the deliberate adoption of means to achieve those ends. Rather are they driven from behind by various psychic forces which in their turn produce more or less elaborate theories by way of self-justification. It is for the psychologist to study these driving-forces, while their verbal manifestations, as Pareto calls these theories, serve as material for the sociologist. He carries the analysis a stage further, and distinguishes in any such manifestation two parts, one more variable, to which the name of 'derivation' is given as an indication of its purely secondary character, and one less variable, which is called the 'residue', as being that part of the content which remains after the removal of the derivation. Sociology, as an account of human action in societies, becomes therefore a classification of residues and derivations.

Of the six groups of residues which Pareto describes he himself singles out as of special importance the first and second, concerned respectively with the 'combination of particulars' and the 'persistence of aggregates'.

Residues, it will be recalled, are relatively stable; we should expect, therefore, to find psychological types corresponding to those classes which have been named. And that is the case. Persons in whom residues of the first class predominate are marked out by nature for initiative and invention; facts

do not present themselves to such in isolation, but relations between facts are at once either discerned or invented. Magic is the creation of this type of mind; A's cattle die because of some event which has occurred in a village miles away. So for the superstitious product of our urban civilization the black cat by the roadside is the cause of the accident into which he runs five minutes later. Another residue-type of this class is expressed by Pareto thus: 'When a certain state is considered happy, one is inclined to unite with it everything which is considered good. And on the contrary, if a state B is considered unhappy, one is inclined to unite with it everything bad.' It is the old principle of 'Give a dog a bad name, and it will stick to him'! Thus, once we have decided that Bolshevism is obnoxious, we affix this label to everything which we dislike; on the other hand, if we are 'progressive' or 'modern', we justify anything we wish to do by bringing it under this head.

Those, on the other hand, in whom the residues of the second class predominate, are conservative and disposed to maintain things as they are or, it may be, to restore them to what they should be by 'revolution from the Right'. Sentiments of loyalty to class or country, of attachment to the soil or to a creed, come under this head, and it is residues of this class which give to society its cohesion and stability. This provides, too, the pedestal on which those parvenu deities, the Nation, Justice, Democracy, and so on, are raised aloft for the admiration of their unthinking worshippers. Unthinking, for to Pareto, 'nominalist of the nominalists' as he calls himself, there is no 'thing' called 'country' in the same sense as there is one called 'umbrella'; the sentiment of patriotism is a tree which has its roots—in the empty air!

One important consequence which the author of this classification draws is that capitalism is not to be considered as a unity, in spite of the Marxist dogma, but as a complex phenomenon, in which two main sets of interests can be

discerned, these corresponding to the two classes of residues which have just been described. There are those, on the one hand, whose wealth is invested in securities, Government and otherwise, bearing interest at fixed rates, and whose concern is therefore the stability of society; any innovation is resisted as a threat to their income. But there are others whose investments are in industry where an expansion of the market as the result of a forward policy or the introduction of labour-saving machinery would increase their prospects of gain, and whose influence therefore is on the side of adventure and progress. The facts of the post-war period have amply borne out this analysis; more than once we have seen Governments hesitating between two policies, each of which could claim the support of a powerful body of opinion among capitalists.

So much for the residues; it only remains to deal briefly with derivations. We act in virtue of certain sentiments or prejudices, but we do not give these sentiments and prejudices as reasons for our action. The reasons which we do give are of various types.

The simplest case, of course, is that in which we are content merely to affirm, and give to our affirmation such an axiomatic or dogmatic character that, at least in our own eyes, no further explanation is called for. We all know the power which a statement made with force and confidence has on the minds of those who have not been trained to habits of criticism. A step beyond this is taken when appeal is made to some authority, to the Church, to Karl Marx, to the 'established results of science', to the 'modern mind', or a thousand and one other means for saving us the trouble of thinking for ourselves. Or appeal may be made to certain beliefs which we know to be already entertained by those to whom we speak, to principles such as the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number', or to the self-interest of groups or individuals. We invent such entities as the 'rights of man', 'necessities of State', or the 'social contract' and call on these to support us in what we propose to do. But language provides

us with the most fertile source of rationalizations; there are few situations out of which we cannot extricate ourselves with the help of an ambiguous term. The man who agrees with us is an example of that fidelity which is so sadly lacking in our times, the man who does not agree with us is obstinate and pigheaded! We no longer shoot our enemies, we 'liquidate' them; their widows and orphans may not notice the difference, but our twinges of conscience are much less severe! Words like 'nature' and 'utility', 'reason' and 'faith', have bred so many philosophical disputes because they were as erratic in their connotation as the terms which a politician uses in his election speeches.

In all this, Pareto is professedly guided by a scientific purpose alone, and he disclaims any intention of passing judgement on what he discovers. But the impression which his analysis leaves on the mind—and one can hardly doubt that he shared it himself—is that of 'Lord, what fools these mortals be!' Sociology becomes on this view a prey to the merest relativism, it is a system of means without ends. Perhaps, indeed, it has a right to be such; but when, as happens in Pareto's sociology, it describes means so cynically as to deny in fact that there are any ends at all, has it not overstepped its bounds? If nominalism is carried to the point at which truth, goodness, and beauty become mere words around which sentiments gather, if reason is to be driven into the narrow tract of pure science to play there its game of 'as if', while practical life is handed over to prejudices parading under a show of logic, we may well ask where an Archimedes who is concerned to act in this world and not merely to know it is to take his stand? For no norms emerge from Pareto's study, nor does he assume at the outset some standard of value by which to assess his facts, while leaving to the philosopher as such the criticism of that standard.

If, however, there is anywhere in Pareto's work a norm for society, this is to be found in his theory of the circulation of élites, and to this we must next turn. It is here, indeed,

that his greatest contribution to Fascism—or should we say, his closest approximation thereto?—is to be found.

His starting-point is the natural inequality of men. Whatever point of view is adopted, the arrangement of society which it reveals is in the form of a pyramid, with a vast mass of nonentities at the foot tapering upwards to a small group of able minds at the summit. A diagram of the distribution of wealth in a modern community would obviously take this form, as also would one of professional ability, or one showing the distribution of political power. Democracy is inconceivable, it is of the very nature of human society that it should be governed from above by an élite. If, now, we take these various pyramid-shaped diagrams and put them together to form a highly composite figure, we shall obtain the same result—the able few, the mediocre many, and the worthless mass.

Such a figure, however, will show us only the *actual* distribution of wealth, power, and professional aptitude; we must not too hastily assume that each individual will occupy therein the place which he *ought* to assume. That would only be the case did a free circulation among the various sections of society obtain, so that those who failed to inherit the ability by which their fathers had earned eminence declined from that eminence, giving place to those below who showed themselves worthy sons of less worthy sires. That state of society in which such a free movement was constantly engaged in redistributing rank and privilege in accordance with ability is theoretically desirable but practically remote. There are various obstacles in the way of its realization.

For example, inheritance tends to turn classes into something like castes; the Oxford graduate's son is much more likely than the miner's to go to Oxford, and men rather fall into a social position by the accident of birth than climb to it by force of character and ability. Then, those who possess an advantage of any kind cling to it with considerable

tenacity, and dispute the right of others to displace them on the ground of superior qualifications; the 'haves' combine to keep down the 'have nots'. And in this they have the laws on their side; for legislation tends rather to maintain the present order of society than to promote the emergence of a more satisfactory one.

Thus, in actual fact, those who occupy the apex of the social pyramid may well be other than those who deserve to be there. The latter are kept down among the middle or lower classes. In that situation, their dissatisfaction increases, they play with revolutionary doctrines and wait their opportunity to claim for themselves the power which others hold. Nor are there wanting in the bosom of society forces which work for their advancement. The jealousies which prevail among the upper class may lead to a thinning-out process, as when the English nobility killed each other in the Wars of the Roses and left room for the middle class to rise. Wealth breeds prodigality, and this has the same effect; the passage 'from clogs to clogs' is made in three or four generations.

But the most powerful factor in promoting freedom of circulation in society is the degeneracy of the upper stratum and the decay of its will-to-power. The ruling class becomes corrupted by its wealth; it loses self-confidence and cohesion, and fritters away its energies on luxury and idle speculation. In the technical terms of our author, the residues of the second class become weakened, while those of the first class are over-developed. 'In proportion as the ruling class is enriched by elements in which the instinct for combinations predominates and in proportion as it shrinks from the due use of force, its derivations become adapted to these conceptions. Humanitarianism and pacifism appear and flourish. People speak as if everything could be governed by logic and reason, whilst old traditions are one and all regarded as out-worn prejudices. One has no difficulty in detecting such characters again and again in literature; at Rome in the age of the Antonines, in our own countries at the end

of the eighteenth century, particularly in France, and then again in the second half of the nineteenth century.' Revolution begins not from below but from above; a decadent aristocracy which makes concession after concession because it is too weak to maintain its position by force, invites the discontented element in the other social strata to rise up and dispossess it. Why, for example, did the *ancien régime* perish in France? Pareto answers that it was because the aristocracy read Rousseau, fêted Voltaire, and shed tears—in the theatre—over the sufferings of the peasantry. Had they only had the courage to call out the troops to fire, their children might be sleeping peacefully in the ancestral castles to this day!

Here we enter upon ground which Pareto occupies in common with Sorel and Spengler. Like the one, he stigmatizes the degeneracy of our age of plutocracy and demagoguery, with its commercialization of all things sacred and its loss of any sense of honour; like the other, he sees in all this a return to the last days of republican Rome, when a finance-oligarchy in the capital fleeced the provinces and kept the mob quiet with bread and circuses. But he does not echo the Frenchman's trumpet-call to the proletariat to close their ranks and fight a new Thermopylae for the moral renovation of the world; nor does he share the German's gloomy vision of the Prussian spirit keeping watch, nobly but in vain, while the lava-stream of Asiatic hate pours down upon the doomed cities of our Western culture. He preserves to the end his rôle of spectator; he may see or even foresee, but will neither judge nor urge to action.

Like Spengler, he sees in the conspiracy of Catiline a phenomenon to which we may expect parallels in our own day. In accordance with his general estimation of human nature and the forces which prompt it to action, he finds in such movements as Bolshevism, not a struggle on the part of the proletariat for a new social order, but the emergence into power of a new aristocracy which uses the people as its dupes. History is for him the conflict between two élites,

one old and the other new, in which the prize is power rather than wealth; the people serve only as the necessary cannon-fodder. So we may anticipate, he argues, that ambitious men of the middle classes, who for some reason have failed to win the place in society which accords with their abilities, will raise the mass to fight for them—and betray them afterwards.

So in *Fatti et Teorie* he cites a speech which Sallust puts into the mouth of Catiline as one which might have been made by a Bolshevik leader to-day. Such men make their appeal to the residues of the second class, which are particularly powerful among the common people. In other words, they call for loyalty to class or country, they preach the clan-ethic of obedience, military valour, and unquestioned acceptance of the leader's authority—and the people respond. Where, as in Italy at the occupation of the factories, self-interest, higher wages, and shorter working-hours took the place of these incentives, the movement towards Communism failed and Fascism, a more heroic type and one with a more powerful social 'myth' to draw upon, rose on its ruins.

There is one passage in the *Sociologia* which has been quoted as a prophecy of the march on Rome. It is a description of a hypothetical situation in a decadent society. Let us suppose, Pareto says, that in a country a governing class has been formed which is past master in trickery and the adroit use of situations as they arise. The necessary consequence of this will be the formation elsewhere within that society of a potential governing class which is prepared to use force. For any society has need both of the lion and of the fox, and an excess in the one direction sets up an excess in the other by way of compensation. The result will be instability, and the country in question will be ripe for revolution. More especially will that be the case if the first élite is infected with humanitarian scruples, and is unwilling to defend its position by force. Its competitors, on the other hand, use force without scruple, and dispossess their rivals, killing some

in the process—Pareto adds that this is a useful work, like ridding a country of dangerous beasts! The new rulers will appeal to residues of the second class, and under them stability and vigorous life will return to the society. One can imagine Mussolini's rise to power as the drama of which this passage is the script!

The question, however, remains to be asked: Was Pareto himself a Fascist? The best answer is that of one of his own students, himself an ardent Fascist, that Pareto was less the apostle than the prophet of the movement which swept over Italy towards the close of his life. To the end, independence was too dear to him for acceptance of any dictatorship, however circumstances might justify it, to be possible. Among the last articles which he wrote is one in which he warns the new régime against any interference with liberty of thought. There must be complete academic freedom, and the Universities must have the right to bring out of their treasures of knowledge things new and old, Newton as well as Einstein, and Marx as well as the classical economists. He argues also for the liberty of the Press and for the avoidance of military adventures. So that, while Pareto's theories may well have helped to bring about the Fascist régime or at least to justify it after it had been brought about, its worst features cannot well be laid to his account.

But he cannot escape the charge of having provided in his sociology an apologia for that view of human nature which in Fascism takes the place of the Christian valuation of man. He would have accepted what a recent exponent of that system describes as 'the fundamental truth of life; the truth that the mass of men is created to be governed and not to govern; is created to be led and not to lead, and is created, finally, to be slaves and not masters; slaves of their animal instincts, their physiological needs, their emotions and their passions'. What in Pareto is the intellectual's contempt for the unthinking masses becomes in Mussolini the will to propaganda and to a régime of force.

It is precisely here that democracy needs to be sure of itself. It is not a political system, but a religious conviction, a high regard for each human being as a child of God, and therefore to be persuaded and won over, perhaps, but not to be coerced. That the ballot-box is not the ideal means to obtain rulers of character and intellect must be admitted; but it is at least superior as a method to bludgeons, castor-oil, and faction-fights in the *piazza*. Democracy is weak in so far as it falls victim to that struggle between rival aspirants for power at the expense of the masses in which Pareto sees the only hope of social renewal; what, therefore, is to be expected from a system in which this struggle is glorified by talk of 'that life which feeds on heroism and has empire as its goal'?

E. L. ALLEN.

THE 'CONVERSION' OF JOHN WESLEY

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MAY 24, 1738

THE IMAGE OF THE 'WARMED HEART'

BY THE REV. ROBERT BOND, D.D.

President of the Methodist Conference

THE celebration of the Bicentenary of John Wesley's Evangelical Conversion marks an event sufficiently important to be engaging already the attention of a considerable section of the people of the world. It was not only of supreme importance to John Wesley, as it divided his life into two parts, but it proved to be an Epoch of the first importance in English history. He is a man whom no student of history can leave out of his reckoning when he is considering the England of the eighteenth century. One distinguished historian regarded John Wesley's Evangelical Conversion as a turning point in English History, and it would be difficult for anyone to disagree with this statement. It has been given to some men correctly to gauge the trend of events, so as to ride the tide and be carried to success and fame. It fell to the lot of John Wesley to set himself against the trend of events, and to stop the trend and turn it into other channels. For the remainder of his life he directed and developed the new movement that swept through England. The date that marks this new movement in the life of England is May 24, 1738, the significance of which few if any have fully realized.

It is said that the greatest happening in anyone's life is when they turn the corner of the road and run into a new idea. It is just as important when a man at any time meets a new and revolutionizing experience. This is what happened to St. Paul when with bitterness in his heart he was on the way to Damascus and he was suddenly blinded with a great light

and heard a voice speaking to him. From that moment his life was cleft in twain, so that the two parts were as distinct and unlike each other as if they had been two lives. The after years provided ample evidence of the great experience that had come to him on the Damascus road. The experience of Aldersgate Street was as important to John Wesley; and it was the occasion of as big a cleavage in his life. It did not happen in quite the same way, but it changed his life and altered the course of English history. John Wesley had come by slow and heavy steps through many years to that hour. It seemed to him reasonable that through the process of fasting and observances, self-denial and discipline he might win to his goal. No one ever sought more earnestly or anxiously than he did by good works to find joy and peace. It was the meeting with Peter Böhler that began the great change in his life. A week after John Wesley returned from Georgia, a depressed and disappointed man, he met Böhler and he set a special mark against the date as a day to be remembered. Böhler had entered into the experience of religion that Wesley was seeking. On one occasion he wrote in his diary, 'I met Peter Böhler again, who now amazed me more and more by the account he gave of the fruits of living faith—the holiness and happiness which he affirmed attended it. The next morning I began the Greek Testament again, resolved to abide by the "law and the testimony" and being confident that God could hereby show me whether this doctrine was of God'.

Wesley was not at the time he met Böhler a merely 'natural man' any more than the disciples were before our Lord's Resurrection. But he was not yet in the full and proper sense a spiritual man. He was not yet fully born into the Kingdom of Heaven with its spiritual light and blessedness, although he was very near to the hour of his enlargement into the 'glorious liberty of the children of God'.

As a result of his fellowship with Böhler, Wesley wrote: 'I am now thoroughly convinced; and by the grace of God

resolved to seek it (that is faith) unto the end. (1) By resolutely renouncing all dependence, in whole or in part, upon *my own* works of righteousness, on which I had really grounded my hope of salvation, though I knew it not, from my youth up. (2) By adding to the constant use of all the other means of grace, continual prayer for this very thing, justifying, saving faith, a full reliance on the blood of Christ shed for *me*; a trust in Him as *my* Christ, as *my* sole justification, sanctification, and redemption.'

It may have seemed strange to Wesley thus to throw himself in faith upon God and expect to find what he had so long been seeking by more laborious ways. It seemed more likely to him that it could be reached step by step rather than by this complete abandonment and trust. While he toiled on the steeps the Moravians had reached the summit and were basking in the sunshine of God's favour and pardon. Slowly but surely John Wesley came to the same mind. In his quest he came at last to that meeting-house in Aldersgate Street. Nothing can better the simple way he tells the story and tries to put into words the experience that was his. He felt his heart strangely warmed, felt that he did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation and had the assurance given him that Christ had taken away his sins, and had saved him from the law of sin and death.

He went out to tell everywhere and to everybody the things he had proved to be true. He had abandoned the hope of salvation by works and cast himself on Christ alone. It is to that same experience that May 24, 1938, calls us. Our main thought must not be of the man John Wesley but rather of the experience that is open to every man and woman who will trust Christ in the same way. It is this revolutionizing experience that the Church needs, of which Christ spoke when he talked in the night with Nicodemus, who was a man of repute and good standing, and said, 'Ye *must* be born again'. Something has to happen that will make us so different that Christ could represent it in no other way

than a re-birth. Christ may not come to us in the same way as He came to Wesley, and we may have to describe it in different words, for He comes to us as individuals. The miracle will happen when we are as eager seekers as John Wesley was, and when we abandon all thought of saving ourselves. This is a wonderful Gospel with which to go out into to-morrow, but we must know it ourselves before we can effectively declare it to others.

THE THEOLOGICAL ISSUES

BY THE REV. J. SCOTT LIDGETT, C.H., M.A., D.D.

THE Theological issues of the transforming experience that came to John and Charles Wesley in May, 1738, were momentous. Their nature and importance are, for the most part, insufficiently recognized and appreciated. It is obvious that at the outset the experience, especially of John Wesley, revived that of Martin Luther, and restored the doctrine of Justification by Faith to its rightful position. And this not because of any formal re-statement, but because the vital experience that came to John Wesley gave a spiritual verification of the doctrine. It was during the reading of Luther's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans that Wesley found his heart 'strangely warmed', and was enabled to receive the assurance of the forgiveness of his sins through the grace of God and the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ. Luther, however, was an Augustinian, and never revised the idea of God which he had inherited from St. Augustine. Hence there was a dark background to the evangelical faith which for him centred in the Manger and Cross of our Lord. He took refuge from the awful majesty of God and the inscrutable mystery of His Sovereign Will in the homeliness of the Manger and the mercy of the Cross. Wesley, on the other hand, was an Arminian, for he had been brought up under the influence of the High Church Theology which had come down to him from Archbishop Laud. Hence the theological

background of the Wesleys differed greatly in substance from that of Luther, and the subsequent development of their experience opened a new chapter in evangelical theology which, even if at points suggested by Luther, was altogether new. The following points are in this respect of vital importance.

(1) In the first place, Wesley's Theology was based upon the Fatherhood of God rather than upon His Sovereignty. At a very early period he had written a hymn, of which the first two verses must be quoted¹—

Father of all! whose powerful voice
Called forth this universal frame;
Whose mercies over all rejoice,
Through endless ages still the same:

Thou by Thy word upholdest all;
Thy bounteous love to all is showed,
Thou hear'st Thy every creature's call,
And fillest every mouth with good.

This opening strikes the note of the trust in the Fatherly care of God which is the theme of the entire hymn. Hence the Fatherhood of God which is experienced in Christ springs out of and is the fulfilment of the Fatherhood of God, which is the constitutive relationship of Creation. It is perhaps true that this background of Fatherhood was never systematically connected in Wesley's mind with the doctrine of His Sovereignty, at all events during the period when Wesley's mind was dominated by the sense of guilt and dread of the righteousness of God. Yet it was always there, and his evangelical experience led him to subsequent conceptions of the nature of grace and the meaning of salvation which were entirely due to the Fatherhood of God treated by him as the sovereign spring and motive of His mercy in our Lord Jesus Christ. There is, therefore, a consistent wholeness in Wesley's theology which is absent from Luther's. In particular, it was the influence of the Fatherhood of God which

¹ Hymn 47 in the Methodist Hymn Book.

led him to the rejection of Calvinism and to lifelong proclamation of the truth that God 'willeth that all men should be saved, and should come to the knowledge of the truth'.

(2) Hence, while Luther insisted and expatiated upon the Freedom of those who are justified by faith, Wesley emphasized rather their Adoption as Sons. The sense of sonship, which was not indeed absent from Luther's, became the determining principle of Wesley's thought and feeling.

(3) It followed from this that while for Luther everything turned upon justifying faith, Wesley treated this faith as opening up the prospect of 'perfect love' as the fruit and fulfilment of justifying faith. For him, the love of God to man and the responsive love of man to God became the central theme of his thought, pursuit and teaching.

(4) Thus for Methodism the doctrine of the Holy Spirit came to occupy a foremost place. It was by the nature of this doctrine and the prominence given to it that Methodism was most clearly distinguished from ordinary English religion in the eighteenth century. This difference was of epoch-making importance. The Anglican abhorrence of 'enthusiasm' in religion was largely due to the belief that while the Holy Spirit had created the Church as a Divine institution, yet any sense of His direct and continuous activity in spiritual experience was not only excluded but denied, as the celebrated interview of John Wesley with Bishop Butler sufficiently shows. On the other hand, Calvinist Nonconformity concentrated such attention upon the electing decrees of God as to throw the experience of fellowship in and with the Holy Spirit into the background of at least their formal theology.

Methodism laid continual stress upon 'the Spirit of adoption by which we cry, Abba, Father'. Hence its teaching of the 'direct witness' of the Holy Spirit to our adoption as sons. The assurance of Justification was to be found not merely in the declarations of Scripture, or in examining the nature of Faith and finding it to be sufficient, or even in the all-

sufficiency of Christ as the object of Faith, but in the direct, express and personal witness of the Holy Spirit to the believer's adoption. Thus the nature of Methodist experience was that of an immediate and joyous certainty, a deep, and even exuberant, spiritual satisfaction, and all expressed in terms of the filial consciousness conveyed by the Holy Spirit. Hence at this point also Methodism, by the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, brought the Fatherhood of God, which is the correlate of sonship, into the foreground. The Holy Spirit brought power to the believer and was the agent of sanctification because of this more vital and immanent relation of the Holy Spirit to the new life in Christ. Thus John Wesley adopted and altered Henry More's great hymn, which after celebrating the various gifts of the Spirit, reaches its climax in the following verse—

The Spirit breathe of inward life,
Which in our hearts Thy laws may write;
Then grief expires, and pain, and strife:
'Tis nature all, and all delight.

Spiritual progress from first to last depends upon the receptivity of a continual response to the Holy Spirit through whose fellowship it comes about that perfect love is shed abroad in the heart as the living fount of Christian experience, character and conduct.

(5) In conclusion, it will be seen from all this that the Methodism which sprang from the evangelical experience of the Wesleys was the source of a development which both vivified the Faith as it was handed down in the Scriptures and interpreted by the Creeds of the Church, and also gave promise of such a future development of thought and life as united the Divine and the human, the spiritual and the social, in and through the supremacy of the universal and all-comprehending love of God.

THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

BY THE REV. FREDERIC PLATT, M.A., D.D.

WESLEY could not doubt that his experience of a 'heart strangely warmed' was the gift of the Holy Spirit. The love of God was made manifest within his heart by the Holy Spirit given unto him. His experience determined his theology. It was essentially the Theology of the Holy Spirit. The whole range of his evangelical teaching lay within the sphere of the ceaseless ministries of this Holy Remembrancer who was Himself God at work in man.

Whilst this teaching had intimate affinities with the faith of the Church Catholic, Wesley laid stress on specific elements in it which have given distinctiveness to Methodist theology. By wellnigh common consent theologians have assigned the foremost place amongst these theological transcripts of experience to the doctrine of 'Assurance'. This enshrines for Methodists the doctrinal significance of the experience of the 'warmed heart'.

As an estimate of the values of this particular teaching for personal spiritual experience has already been contributed to Bicentenary publications,¹ another aspect of the ministry of the self-same Spirit may be stressed in this brief fragment of interpretation.

Emphasis upon the *universality* of the ministry of grace by the Holy Spirit has been a marked characteristic of Wesley's theology. His preachers were the heralds of this gospel of a 'free, full, present salvation' for each and all, for the least and the last and the lost. This was also the evangel Charles Wesley sang and taught the multitudes to sing in his matchless hymns and spiritual songs. The dominant and ever-recurring theme of these is the wonder of the universal grace and tireless ministry of the Holy Spirit in the unregenerate minds and hearts of sinful men, as truly as in those who have believed.

¹ *The Theology of the Warmed Heart*, Wesley Bicentenary Manuals, No. 8.

Naturally this teaching has a large place in Methodist Theology. There it is known and stressed as the doctrine of Prevenient Grace. It is the grace of God which goes before 'conversion'. In this it is distinguished from 'effectual grace' that issues immediately in conversion. This was a distinction that marked not only a theological difference, but a popular controversy the most heated, determined and divisive that the leaders of the Evangelical Revival knew. Whilst the clashing party cries of 'Calvinist' and 'Arminian', are largely forgotten shibboleths, the issues in thought and teaching are still alive. And because these are touching under different names and in fresh and possibly more subtle expression the substance of evangelical theology to-day, it may be well to recall very briefly the situation and antagonisms into which Wesley's new-found experience and its outcome in his ministry introduced him.

Wesley's proclamation of universal salvation challenged two extreme theories of human nature widely held by his contemporaries. The first was the Augustinian teaching that man's nature is in actual experience innately and utterly depraved. It provides no point of moral contact for the free co-operation of divine and human personalities. If God touches the human, He moves it by irresistible grace from without. 'Effectual grace' is therefore morally unconditioned and without preparatory disposition or discipline within the consciousness of the human subject.

The second was the Pelagian conception that man's nature is of itself, as normally generated, morally good, and capable by the light of reason and by cultural development of moral impulses to attain the moral ideal.

Wesley's constant insistence upon the doctrine of Prevenient Grace sent forth a wide and gracious mediating influence in religious thought which has released evangelical theology for the modern mind from extreme positions no longer verified or verifiable in actual experience of the Holy Spirit's redemptive processes. Methodist teaching has never

maintained an unrelieved doctrine of total depravity. Each and every man has received an original gift of the Spirit of God. The dogma of original sin is not an isolated fact. It is balanced by the doctrine of original grace. The reality of sin and its exceeding sinfulness are fundamental and inescapable facts. But they are only and always known to us under a covenant of grace. Human nature itself is a state of grace. A continuity of grace prevails, through the universal ministries of the Holy Spirit, unbroken through human history alike of the individual and of the race. To this grace of the Holy Spirit, diffused through all the world and bestowed unsought upon every child of man, are due virtues and aspirations after higher things that manifest themselves in infinitely varying degrees in human personality. It is now felt to be a confusion and contradiction in the moral order to represent these as *splendida vitia*. It is a breach in redemptive continuity to limit the work of the Holy Spirit to one elect and foreordained action in the moment of 'conversion'. The Divine initiative does not so tarry. The seeking love of Him who helpeth our infirmities has not left God's human child to totter the first feeble steps of his moral and spiritual pathway alone.

Inheriting this tradition of a universal ministry of the Holy Spirit coming unsought, continuing when unrecognized, pleading, pursuing 'with unperturbed pace, deliberate speed, majestic instancy', ought Methodist teachers to acquiesce in the excessive tendency in present-day theology to magnify the transcendence of God as 'the wholly other'?

Moreover, whilst Wesley succeeded in maintaining through his interpretation of the Doctrine of Prevenient Grace the initial and universal ministry of the Holy Spirit, at the same time he avoided the opposite extreme of the easy but misleading optimism of the Pelagian estimate of human nature. The desire for the good, the ability to choose the better, 'the little unremembered acts of kindness and of love' were 'not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man,

but of God'. Savouring of the things of God, they were born of God's Spirit at work in and for man. 'The Light which lighteth every man coming into the world' penetrates deeper than our vision can follow. It convicts the world in respect of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgement. It is the universal Spirit of that God who is the Father of the spirits of all flesh. There is a democracy of the Spirit. 'I will pour forth of my Spirit upon all flesh.' Where He cannot do all He would, He does all He can.

Might not a renewed conviction of the truth of this Methodist tradition and its confident assertion to-day become a promising method of dealing with that dominant, but depressing 'Humanism' which is the modern name of 'Pelagianism' for our generation?

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

BY THE REV. T. FERRIER HULME, M.A., D.D.

IN a very real sense the experience into which the Wesleys entered at Whitsuntide, 1738, was not a development. That came later. This was an entirely new beginning, in a new vision of the meaning of the Cross to a believer. The Cross had indeed been prominent in their creed, and in their preaching. They now discover it is essential to *begin* there themselves thus:

Nothing in my hand I bring,
Simply to Thy Cross I cling.

John Wesley was now thirty-five, and for thirteen years he had been sincerely attempting to save himself by good living and meritorious deeds. He now finds he cannot 'work out his own salvation' till he has actually got it; and that the *only* way to get it is 'to trust in Christ, in Christ alone for Salvation.' This is what he did on May 24, resulting in 'the change that God works in the heart', and also in the Spirit-

given 'assurance that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*'. No wonder his heart was strangely warmed, as his brother's had been on Whit-Sunday, for now,

'They listen, and heaven springs up in their heart.'

Henceforth the key-stone of religion, for them, as in the New Testament, is GRACE.

And they regarded grace as the love of God abounding to the undeserving, even to the chief of sinners.

That was the place John now took; and throughout his long life, even to his dying words, he would consent to take no other place before God and his fellow-men than that of a sinner saved by grace. Such an experience is bound to be revolutionary. Of course people will argue about it as he himself did, till he got there. But once there, he and Charles always insisted 'Grace is the anchor of the soul'. And a month later at Oxford, in his sermon on Ephesians ii. 8, he maintained, as the Church does, that grace is 'the strong rock and foundation of the Christian religion'.

But this experience ceases to be healthy unless it is progressive. It withers when we allow it to become merely a thing of the past, a passing emotion instead of a process, a solitary act of faith rather than a life of faith on 'the Son of God who loved me and gave Himself for me'. This pearl of great price is easily lost if it is consigned to a napkin, and becomes just a hidden treasure to be produced only on rare occasions.

For that reason this Bicentenary summons us all to partake of a like precious experience of the grace of God which results in the re-modelling of conduct, the re-shaping of character, the re-moulding of the will and the regeneration of the affections, and so bringing the entire life under entirely new management. It summons us to a change of heart that results in a change of likeness, for like begets like. It is a change from a self-centred to a Christ-centred life; not only a change from, but a change into, a separation leading to

identification. Jesus says, 'In that day ye shall know that I am in My Father, and ye in Me and I in you'. That is the experience that makes gloriously possible the life of perfect love to God and man, to which we are called by Christ Jesus, and which the Wesleys never failed to emphasize.

That is indeed a stupendous claim to make on behalf of grace. But when, as Dr. Dale put it, we 're-discover the magnitude and amplitude of that old-fashioned and unfashionable word grace', we shall regard it as both reasonable and realizable, especially when we find, as Paul tells us, '*grace is given according to the measure of the gift of Christ*'.

That is more than the measure of mere omnipotence. It is according to the measure of the omnipotent Love of the Eternal Son, who 'left His Father's throne above' and 'emptied Himself of all but love', and then at the Cross 'was numbered with the transgressors' and 'tasted death for every man'. Then, after entering the dark abyss of Hades, He went back in triumph to the Throne, obtaining as He went, mastership over every foe that has mastered us. 'The exceeding greatness of God's power to us-ward who believe'—is according to that—'the superb magnanimity and the superb generosity of God,' as Dr. Whyte described it.

Now that is why, and that is how, 'all things are possible to him that believeth'. God forbid then that we Methodists should continue to say 'It is too high, I cannot attain unto it'. Rather let us remember, as Goodwin phrases it, 'God coins promises out of purposes', and what is laid up in Christ is laid open to prayer. Grace, therefore, will not be as effective in us as God wills it to be, '*until we all attain unto a full grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ*'. Some people seem to think that the only way of getting rid of sin, is by growing out of it. But it is not in the nature of sin to grow out, but rather to grow in, daily taking deeper root in us. Sin must be *cast out* by Him who, in the days

of His flesh, cast out demons. 'Faithful is He who called us, who also will do it.' And accordingly our forefathers prayed, as they sang,

Give me the faith that casts out sin
And purifies the heart.

It is ours to submit and believe. It is God's to cast out; and He is both able and willing to do it 'in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye'. Delay is not on His side, but on ours. Do you doubt this?

At first Wesley doubted and demanded the production of living witnesses. Many were forthcoming in many places—the very places where the evangelical revival spread and prevailed. Wesley was satisfied these witnesses were genuine, and the claim could be substantiated. Alas! the number of such witnesses is proportionately fewer in these degenerate days. But the truth abides, and God still has many witnesses in many lands of the blessedness of full salvation and the reality of perfect love. And the offensive will yet pass into the hands of grace. 'Where sin abounds grace shall yet more abound.' Meanwhile we have no greater vocation than that of being channels of grace to God's prodigal world—yes of 'grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ'.

And let us not forget the Wesleys teach us that the best way of growing in grace and in the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord is by plunging thus:

With faith I plunge me in this sea—

the sea of Everlasting Love which is 'immense, unfathomed, unconfined'. That is the only true element and atmosphere for growing in grace, for it is then that God 'enlarges the heart's capacity wider and yet wider still', and with every enlargement comes the Divine infilling. As an old saint quaintly said, 'The larger the bin, the more He puts in'.

As our hearts linger, thankfully and lovingly on these 'exceeding great and precious promises' let us not satisfy

ourselves simply with *longing* for them, but let us set our hearts on *attaining*

Be heaven, e'en now, our soul's abode,
Hid be our life with Christ in God,
Our spirit, Lord, be one with Thine.

THE BIRTHDAY HYMNS

BY THE REV. ARTHUR S. GREGORY, M.A.

IT is, strange though it may seem, perfectly appropriate that some record of the religious experience of John Wesley should be sought in the hymns of Charles. 'The hymns', says Dr. Rattenbury, 'are the joint manifesto of their common beliefs and experiences.' They passed through the same crisis of faith within four days; and that they might sing together of their discovery the poetic genius of the younger brother served them both. To some extent, it is true, the translations of John Wesley reflect the same experience. The assurance of *Now I have found*, written in 1740, contrasts strongly with the yearning of *Thou hidden love of God*, which was written in Savannah in 1727. One magnificent translation, Scheffler's *Thee will I love* (1739), is actually headed 'Gratitude for our Conversion'; and certain lines in it, for example 'And now if more at length I see', must surely bear a personal reference. But for the classic hymns of conversion we turn to Charles, remembering that the brothers were jointly responsible for the publication of all the hymns.

The historical interest of *Where shall my wondering soul begin?* is unique. In the midst of writing it on May 23, between the second and third verses, the poetic soul of Charles Wesley is once for all consecrated to his high task; and the two brothers celebrated their deliverance by singing it together with 'a troop of our friends' on the following evening. Intrinsically the importance of the hymn lies, first, in the line 'Should know, should feel my sins forgiven'; and second, in the address to sinners. For the very heart of the evangelical

experience is the inward assurance of forgiveness. How could a man be forgiven and not know it? Doubts might and indeed did recur; in a hymn published nine years after his evangelical conversion (1747) Charles Wesley asks whether he ever knew God's justifying grace, and longs to *know* that he is God's child. But the validity of a great religious insight does not depend upon the permanence of the feeling it excites. It is proved rather by fruits of holiness and by its evangelizing power. Birth happens once; but life goes on.

If now Thy influence I feel,
 If now in Thee *begin to live*,
 Still to my heart Thyself reveal,
 Give me Thyself, for ever give. (1739)

So Wesley does not over-indulge the rapture of forgiveness when it comes. His soul may wonder for very joy where to begin, but he ends unmistakably among the outcasts, the publicans and the thieves. And all the great experimental hymns sound the same note; they call and invite, they tell with confidence, they publish abroad. In a hymn published in 1741 in the volume 'On God's Everlasting Love', Wesley sums it all up in the line 'O let me commend my Saviour to you'.

The volume *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1739, is the earliest of all the collections published by the two brothers and we may expect to find in it allusions to the spiritual crisis of the previous year. One poem, headed 'Congratulation to a friend upon believing in Christ' may well have been addressed to John Wesley by his brother. Another, *O Filial Deity, Accept my new-born cry*, still has a place in our hymn-book. It is entitled 'Hymn to the Son', and stands together with two other hymns addressed to the Father and the Holy Ghost. In all three the allusions to the experience of May, 1738 are unmistakable. Wesley's diary shows indeed that *O Filial Deity* was written less than three weeks after Whit-Sunday.

Wesley naturally reverted again and again to the theme of the new birth and its consequences. One hymn he wrote in

1749 'On his Birth-day', *Away with my fears!* (John Wesley, who quotes the hymn on his own 85th birthday, altered the original 'my' to 'our'.) It contains no direct reference to the 'birthdays' of 1738; and yet we may safely say it would never have been written without the events of May 21 and May 24. John Wesley had a true vocation to the Christian ministry in 1725, but no one would describe his life before 1738 as 'a rapture of joy'. Another and a greater hymn, now known as *O for a thousand tongues to sing*, appeared in 1740. It is part of a poem of eighteen verses written 'For the Anniversary Day of one's Conversion'; and among the verses omitted by John Wesley in the Large Hymn-book are the following lines:

Sudden expired the legal strife;
 'Twas then I ceased to grieve;
 My second, real, living life
 I then began to live.
 Then with my heart I first believed . . .

But the hymns which most forcibly and dramatically portray the soul's deliverance are *And can it be that I should gain* (1739) and *Come, O Thou Traveller unknown* (1742). In these Charles Wesley uses Scriptural narrative and allegory, with superb poetic mastery, in order to convey something that no words can describe.

Intimate and self-revealing as all these hymns are, they never come within sight of the mere subjectivism of some later religious verse. They pass the ultimate test of universality. They present the Truth. Wesley tells with confidence what he has felt and seen. Like St. Paul, he commends not himself. 'Jesus and all in Him is mine' and 'Tis mystery all, the Immortal dies'—the personal testimony and the plain assertion of fact—stand inseparably in the same hymn. They witness at once to 'the essential truths and the spiritual experience upon which the Methodist Church'—nay, the whole Church—'is founded'.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE REVIVAL

By J. H. WHITELEY, Litt.D.

THE century in which the Wesleys lived saw an almost complete transference of England, for the period was marked with great happenings. Its beginning found England Scotland and Ireland three separate countries as far as Parliament is concerned; its close left them nominally united. It saw three great revolutions in agriculture, industry and religion, three internal rebellions; it resounded with the tumult of many battles; as well as it lost us the American Colonies, but it gave us Canada, India, New Zealand and Australia. Its early half witnessed the close of the long period of stagnation which, for centuries, had kept the English almost unprogressively to their insular selves; its last fifty years saw the birth of an expansion that is almost unparalleled in history. Such an outburst of exuberant vitality was accompanied by equal splendour in other English realms; literature, art, music, the stage, science and medicine all boasted of distinguished figures; practical genius was equally manifest in agriculture, architecture, handiwork, industry, and transport. Eighteenth-century parliaments had members of the eminence of Chatham, Burke, Pitt, Fox and Sheridan, whilst its religious world saw Wesley awake the National Church out of her long, devitalizing slumber, rouse Dissenters out of their droning condition, and found a fellowship destined to draw the English on to better paths. The Englishmen who accomplished all these triumphs must have been mighty men, and eighteenth-century England is one that we are rightly called upon to admire respectfully, if a little dizzily, in our scholastic youth.

But there is a reverse side of that stately façade of English cultural, imperial and industrial expansion, and many dark shadows and harsh lines can be found behind the customary glowing and inspiring picture of a dominating England. There was the superior social section of society with its

exclusiveness, recklessness, rapacity, depravity, ridiculous pretensions and vulgar ostentation. Some aristocrats may have exhaled kindliness and graciousness, but beastliness and offence came from most. They were so frankly irreligious that they shocked even a Voltaire. In contemporary newspapers Wesley would read of their senseless bets, their absurd investments, of men losing £70,000 in a single night at cards, of evening suits costing £900, of quarrels and duels, and of eating and drinking contests. He would see their flamboyant eccentricities and hear of their enjoyment of disgraceful parades. He would know that their sons had high posts presented to them in their cradles, that boys of sixteen commanded warships, were majors at fifteen, members of parliament at fourteen, and clergymen and high civil servants at adolescence. As landowners they were despotic; as parliamentarians their votes were always on sale, whilst their many sinecure posts with euphonious titles, were costing the nation millions per annum.

He would be familiar with the expensive orgies called parliamentary elections, when a candidate spent over £100,000 at a single contest; he would know that parliamentary representation was farcical, that 300 members were returned by 160 separate individuals, and that Cornwall had returned more members than the Kingdom of Scotland. He would realize that such parliamentarians were untroubled by the growing increase in crime, the enormous losses to the revenue by smuggling and piracy, the heavy gin drinking, the very high death rates, the complete absence of public education, public misbehaviour, insubordination in the fighting services, inability to control the industrial changes, and that they imposed taxes on such things as tea, sugar, newspapers, advertisements, soap, salt, candles, bricks, hats and powder. He would sense that the laws they passed were designed to crush still further the wretched poor, and mill them into money. He would perceive that aristocrats and employers were dominated with the slave-complex, which showed itself

in scores of ways besides that of selling human flesh and blood.

Among his people would be men with wages of 5s. a week, whilst those of women and working children aged three, could be counted in pence; thousands upon thousands were jailed for a shilling debt, and at one point more than a quarter of the entire population was receiving parish-relief with all its eighteenth-century stigma. He would be aware that even 'model' factories famed for philanthropy, worked small children 74 hours a week. He would know that the magistrates and judges who administered the laws were 'trading justices', and had bought or inherited the office and were practically uncontrolled. Probably he saw mere children hanged for some minor offence, and he once preached 'to 47 convicts all under sentence of death'. Most likely he would see the public punishment of crime or poverty and witness the employment of branding, the pillory, whipping post, cage, spiked necklet, contracting handcuffs and the barrel lined with nails. He would hear of the cat o' nine tails, the lash and 'billyroller' being used on ships, in barracks, prisons, workhouses and mills, and of the press gang and pirates, and he would have personal acquaintance with many a Methodist who dealt in 'free-trade', i.e., smuggling.

He would realize the very low standard of culture and competence shown by professional people like judges, magistrates, civil servants, doctors, dentists, chemists and teachers, and he would not wonder that some were paid less than rat-catchers and chimney sweeps. He would know that many a curate and teacher got less than 10s. a week, and he himself sent forth his first missionaries with £20 per annum plus a family allowance, whilst chapel stewards thought their caretakers were adequately paid with 6d. a week.

He would find the poor as a body 'sworn foes to sense and law'; he would observe their unchecked rowdiness in streets, their love of a ruction, and their general callousness to sufferings. He would see how they had degraded old religious

festivals into mere revelry, and how they loved 'butcherly sports'. He would notice that all funerals were marked by ostentation and carousal, and hear of 'penny' weddings and the activities of the wedding shops in the Fleet, &c. He would read in the papers of the 'sale of wives'. He would find their homes hovels, for one living room and one bedroom were considered ample even for big families, whilst window and chimney taxes made the rooms mere 'caverns of gloom', and their huddled habitations in towns, 'private courts, gloomy as coffins', swarmed with children. For in his lifetime he saw the population grow from five and a half million to eight; an enormous increase when one considers the staggering infantile mortality and annual scourges of fever and plague. He would find their sanitation of the most primitive order, whilst inadequate water supplies, taxes on soap, &c., abetted their filthy personal habits. He would know from the inside the workhouses, prisons and 'houses of correction', where a quarter of the inmates died from malnutrition or over-work, and another quarter from disease. He would be aware that poverty made many of them reckless and swelled to stupendous dimensions the hordes of tramps, thieves, highwaymen, brawling hawkers and fighting link-boys. He would be familiar with rustic medical remedies, folk-lore and belief in demonology. Indeed, his sturdy if not impatient, common-sense, seems to have failed him in this regard, for like many learned contemporaries, he credited wild stories of witchcraft and devil-possession, and so many an adverse critic accuses him of weaving his patterns of human perfectibility out of human fear and agony.

Excluded from this short sketch are many details which enrich the historical background of the Revival, such as eighteenth-century shops and costs, its coinage, banking, insurance, taxation, postal system, foul streets, miry turnpike roads, tolls, &c., all of which are pertinent to the movement. No mention is made of the multiple dialects then spoken in England (a fact that affected Wesley as a preacher), nor to

the marked growth in vocabulary, of the prevailing use of oaths, of Wesley's explosive language and his stunning efficiency of statement, of his and Charles's contributions to English language and literature and of the shorthand systems of the day. There is also silence on the condition of eighteenth-century churches and chapels, on the worldly clerical hierarchy, on the internal political and doctrinal dissensions, the types of sermons, hymns and tunes as well as on the forms of education then possible.

And of more than passing interest are such omitted details as the eighteenth-century philosophy with its dislike for peculiarity in opinion and its objection to the Methodist equalitarian doctrines and advocacy of enthusiasm. But without some knowledge of such incidentals or essentials, discussions on the Revival are aimless and unproductive, and fundamental issues such as why Wesley did or said this or that, and why he did it this way or that, are apt to be deliberately shirked, and such historical ignorance may be a cause of injury, and is undoubtedly a disservice to the Revival. For it is only when the background is fully realized, that one can really read his *Journal*, savour his *Sermons* and appreciate his *Letters*. Then will the astonishing brilliance of his career be luminous, and only then will one realize that his glory will throw a light over the name of England when time has paled the rays reflected from her warriors, and dimmed the effulgence of her statesmen and writers.

METHODISM AND ITS PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

BY PROFESSOR ATKINSON LEE, M.A.

WHEN the Evangelical Revival took place its leaders were mostly innocent of psychology. They had to solve their difficulties without any aid from the scientific study of human nature. Their method was therefore experimental, and after a long course of ascetic discipline—based largely upon such

classics as Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Jesus Christ* and Law's *Serious Call*—they felt the futility of it all, and trusted rather to the results of personal experience in conversion. This experience came to be treated as a model for everybody, and as it resembled the revolution which St. Paul and Luther had undergone, it came to have a kind of Biblical authority. In time it hardened down into a 'plan of salvation' which a good Methodist was expected to observe and exemplify. The success of this method in the great revivals in England and America led to its obtaining a central position in the empirical psychology of Methodism, and it was very largely from records of these successes that a century and a half afterwards William James derived the materials for his study of the *Varieties of Religious Experience*. Many other psychologists have also exploited the same sources, till there has been something like a revolt against their limitations and an attempt to reduce them to their right proportions. A study by Caldecott of the experiences of Wesley's preachers did a little to restore the balance as between violent and quiet religious change, and the Rev. S. G. Dimond's book, *The Psychology of the Methodist Revival*, has put the whole matter into more scientific shape.

It had not been sufficiently observed by earlier writers how largely Wesley's methods were moulded by the fact that they were primarily addressed to mature people, and how little they suited children or those who, like Wordsworth, developed their Christianity from a root of natural piety. The great amount of educational work undertaken by the early Methodists was also apt to be forgotten, as well as their social and reforming enterprises. It is only slowly being discovered what great psychological problems the first Methodists had to face, and how they met them with traditional method and mother-wit, but with little scientific knowledge. Unfortunately, the psychology of the eighteenth century was very limited and superficial, even though it harked back to the shrewd common sense of John Locke. The nineteenth century drew its psychology mainly from John

Stuart Mill, and though this had a good deal of educational influence its bearing upon the religious life was slight. It was not till psychology felt the impulse of evolutionary studies that it came to have much value for religion. Since the turn of the twentieth century psychological research has come in as a flood, and now most students of religion have to be acquainted with the results of its investigations. The subject is indeed to-day the most familiar of the special sciences, and it could be wished that the popular zeal for it were according to knowledge.

As to the present position of religious psychology, it may be said that the general analysis is now done. The foundations were laid by William James, and since his time they have been extended into various fields called by such various names as Educational, Social, and Child Psychology, all having bearings upon religion. The Psycho-analytic and Psycho-therapeutic schools likewise assist the religious teacher, and Pastoral Psychology is a recent development. The treatment of these fields is still mainly descriptive and empirical, but religious psychology is gradually becoming experimental and even mathematical. By statistical methods it should be possible to estimate roughly the effect of certain causes like revivals upon the manners and morals of a community, and possibly by comparative methods the course of a movement may come to be predicted with some degree of certainty. A scientific study of the mass movements in the outcastes of India to-day would be invaluable to future religious enterprises, so that missionary and educational methods could be adapted to them. Thereby the merits of the older revivalistic methods might be secured, and their prodigious waste avoided. What, however, is specially needed is an intensive study of special fields in the psychology of religion, such as the nature of particular forms of belief with which we have to deal, for instance, the faith of the Hindu, the Negro, the hooligan, the suburban dweller and the professional man.

Clearly the psychology of the various religions, which is in its infancy, is of the first importance for the missionary. This will comprise also a psychological study of the sacred books, the music and the art of peoples, for these are closely bound together. In the form of a study of mythology, new ground has been broken by Jung for instance, in his *Psychology of the Unconscious*, but this psychology needs to become much more exact to be helpful. It cannot be long before the Bible itself is examined by Analytic Psychology, and the effects may be as startling as the Darwinian hypothesis of the nineteenth century. Already such studies have begun to be applied by novelists to the life of the Wesleys, not entirely to the edification of the faithful. There is great need, in fact, of a set of studies of real Saints, which shall be pursued upon a common scientific method, so that types may be discovered and generalizations securely established. This effort will never dispense with the imaginative interpretation of the poet, but it may do much to deliver us from the credulous nonsense and pious gossip of chroniclers of the Lives of the Saints. Such an investigation may confirm or overthrow the conventional classification of the saints; it may discover an unsuspected number of uncanonized ones. There are few things more important to the future of religion than a knowledge of what constitutes the ideal of sainthood in modern life.

Of pressing importance is a knowledge of the mentality of the various sections of Christendom. In view of questions of Church Unity to-day, it is requisite that we should know not only the history of other Churches, their creeds and disciplines, but most of all their attitudes of spirit. Personal contact does much to illuminate us, but it is largely accidental and impressionistic. Is there a spirit of Methodism which differs from that of Congregationalism, Anglicanism and the rest? If so, in what does it consist? Are the creeds (or their absence) in any Church due to a specific type of mind, or how far are they the result of cold logic or of historical chance?

Such questions as these will need to be answered in the course of negotiations for Unity, and as they are treated empirically or with scientific precision, so will be the prospects of final cohesion. Finally there is the great problem of the irreligious, or at least of the religiously deficient. Popular fallacies and remedies concerning this question abound, but a careful analysis, such as that which is used in some of the social services, might make the subject a great deal more tractable. We live in a scientific age, and until a great deal more investigation along the foregoing lines is accomplished it is unlikely that we shall see that synthesis of the religious life which may be the next great revival. The wind bloweth where it listeth, it is true; who knows but that it may next breathe through the patient inquirer into truth?

METHODIST CHURCHMANSHIP

BY THE REV. A. W. HARRISON, M.C., B.A., B.Sc., D.D.

JOHAN WESLEY in his *Letter to a Roman Catholic* written in 1749 said: 'I believe that Christ by His apostles gathered unto Himself a Church, to which He has continually added such as shall be saved; that this catholic, that is, universal, Church, extending to all nations and all ages is holy in all its members, who have fellowship with God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; that they have fellowship with the holy angels, who constantly minister to these heirs of Salvation; and with all the living members of Christ on Earth, as well as with all who are departed in His faith and fear.' Omissions in this definition are given in other parts of Wesley's writings where he shows that the ministry of the Word of God and the Sacraments is an essential part of the life of the Church and that traditional organization must be observed even though it be of secondary importance. The living Church of Christ is the fellowship of saints with one another in God their Saviour. This is not the definition that Wesley would have

given a dozen years earlier, though he had certainly not thrown all his training at Epworth and Oxford overboard in 1749; the emphasis was changed. There was still the deep-rooted affection for all the decent traditions of the Church of England and the belief that the observances and organization of the Apostolic Church should receive not only affectionate reverence, but obedience, as though given to the Lord Himself in His Apostles. The main aim of Wesley's ministry was to recover primitive Christianity in the holiness of redeemed lives, strengthening each other by an ordered fellowship in worship, testimony and service.

Of Wesley's respect for tradition it is unnecessary to speak. He was a truly catholic Christian in the sense that he valued all that was spiritually alive in the long record of the Church across the centuries in different races and continents and communions. One of the projects dearest to his heart was the *Christian Library* in the fifty volumes of which he endeavoured to gather the choicest 'practical divinity' that had ever been written by Christians. He began with the Apostolic Fathers and did not neglect the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Roman, Greek, Lutheran, Anglican or Nonconformist were alike to him. He could say with Keble (and he was anxious that his preachers should say the same)

Therefore with every son and saint of Thine
We'll hold communion sweet
Sitting by turns beneath their sacred feet,
Know them by look and voice, and thank them all
For helping us in thrall,
To see through moonless skies that there is light in
heaven.

He cherished the value of that spiritual succession that went back to the Apostles themselves, though he came to regard the dogma that grace was administered only through episcopally ordained ministers in apostolic succession as a fable. All the teaching of all the saints he brought to the test of the oracles of God, as he termed the Scriptures. His sense of fellowship with every member of the body of Christ was as

real as his sense of fellowship with God and his Churchmanship lay in the sense of oneness in Christ with Paul or Polycarp or Chrysostom or Athanasius, with the Spanish mystic or the Puritan, with Luther or the Cambridge Platonists, with Baxter and Doddridge as well as Hooker and Fénelon.

We are told that the present generation of Methodists has little interest in history. John Wesley is singularly remote from them and the Apostolic Fathers seem farther away than the dwellers in Mars. The experiences of present-day Churches and individual Christians 'under the Cross' awaken interest and sympathy. German Lutheran or Romanist, recent converts in China, refugee members of the Orthodox Church appeal to us as fellow kinsmen in Christ and in World Conferences on faith and order, life and works we seek to rediscover the unity of the body of Christ. The Evangelical Revival found its own way to this discovery. The way to Church unity is through the good news of the Gospel experienced and shared by others and that is the only way. The modern Methodist may not study the records of Christian experience in the past and his mind and heart are thereby impoverished, but he may preserve the essence of the Christian tradition if he enters into the New Testament experience of fellowship with Christ the forgiving Saviour and rejoices in the family of God as it gathers in worship and undertakes the delights and responsibilities of service for the present age in hope of eternal life.

The Methodist, in his class meeting, society meeting and circuit meeting, when these institutions really functioned, had found as true a Churchmanship as has ever been known in Christian history. The connexional Spirit, unless it degenerates into a mere denominationalism, that is concerned only with the denomination, recovers that spiritual unity of the body of Christ, without which all schemes of Reunion are vain. The Methodist who is true to his own best traditions is on the right way to find a genuine Churchmanship, and if his heart is awake to fellowship with all Christians he will make at this

time a rich contribution to a renovated, regenerated and truly Catholic Church.

The statement of our 1937 Conference on the nature of the Christian Church is true not only to all that John Wesley had to say about the Church but to the New Testament and the tradition of the early days of Christianity.

'While the true life of the Methodist Church consists in its fellowship with the whole Church of God, it possesses those marks whereby, since the days of the Apostles, the Church has been known of men. Such are: the possession and acknowledgment of the Word of God as given in Scripture, and as interpreted by the Holy Spirit to the Church and to the individual; the profession of faith in God as He is incarnate and revealed in Christ; the observance of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and a ministry for the pastoral office, the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments. But while the nature of the Christian Church must be described by what it has, as well as by what it is, the real significance of what it is can only be understood when its members manifest that living faith which is fellowship with God and Jesus Christ His Son, and which is expressed in prayer, in worship, in all the means of grace, in the acceptance of the task to preach the Gospel to every creature, in the pursuit of holiness, and in the service of love to all mankind.'

How far the Methodist Church at the present time is living up to this standard is another question. The last sentence of Dr. J. E. Rattenbury's enlightening study on *The Conversion of the Wesleys* reads as follows: 'It is evident that Churches do exist, however few they are, bearing the name Methodist, which John Wesley would only enter, carrying in his hands a whip of small cords, that he might cleanse them of men who travesty the evangelical tradition of his people and despise their birthright.'

THE LAY PREACHER

BY THE REV. W. LANSDELL WARDLE, M.A., D.D.

THE greatest experiences of life are often the most simple. They may be painted with a few quick strokes of the brush, and told in a few graphic sentences. The blind man in homely words tells how his eyes were opened. Of

one thing he is sure—whereas he was once blind, now he sees. He cannot explain his cure. It is true that behind the simple facts there lies something infinite and eternal—the personality of the Son of God. But into the deep theological problems involved the simple faith of the blind man cannot penetrate. The salvation which comes to man through the Cross, again, is described in simple fashion by those who at its foot have felt their burden roll away. But it is possible only because there is behind the Cross something of eternal significance. The theory of the Atonement has exercised the minds of the acutest theologians in the Christian community down the ages. Some of them have produced explanations completely satisfactory to themselves, but none has stood the test of time. We face this supreme mystery, and sometimes our faces are lit by flashes of the heavenly light, but we cannot see the full brightness. It is still true that we cannot by searching find out God.

The evangelical conversion of John Wesley is one of the outstanding religious experiences in history, and is told in the simplest of words. Yet behind it there lies something that is deeper than any formulation of it. And any interpretation of it can be but partial. There was a time during which Wesley felt that before this experience he was not a true Christian. Later he came to wiser ways of thought, and dealt with the problem in a way that has not been bettered. 'Before this I served God as a servant: afterwards I served him as a son.' If I may put my own interpretation, which is not intended as a complete explanation, I would say that it was for Wesley his full realization of the truth that salvation is of God. Much of the earlier life of Wesley seems to give us the picture of a sincere seeker after salvation won by saving others, or by untiring use of the means of grace. Now he knows that salvation is the free gift of grace by God to undeserving man, whose part is the child-like faith that takes God at His word.

However grave may be the defects of the theology which Barth has made dominant in certain circles, it possesses the virtue that it has renewed our sense of the majesty, and

deepened our understanding of the grace, of God. We may have, in one sense, to work out our own salvation, but we cannot save ourselves. We try to grasp the hand of God when we should let ourselves be grasped by Him. We cannot obtain or deserve our salvation by seeking to save others. We may be in God's hands the means of saving others by showing forth our own salvation.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of the Methodist lay preachers to the Church has lain just in that work. They have stood before people who were acquainted with their daily lives, and as members of a social community they have put into words what their lives have independently proclaimed, that through faith they have received the gift of God. It would ill become me to suggest in any way that preaching should be confined to a recital of experience. There is need for much else in the ministry of the pulpit. Our theological schemes must always be inadequate and imperfect, but we must seek to satisfy the demands of the mind as well as those of the soul. Wesley was the last man to decry theological preaching. He once protested against what 'were vulgarly called "Gospel sermons".' 'The term has now become a cant word. I wish none of our society would use it. It has no determinate meaning. Let but a pert, self-sufficient animal, that has neither sense nor grace, bawl out something about Christ and his blood, or justification by faith, and his hearers cry out "What a fine Gospel sermon!".' Nor would I suggest that theology should be the sphere of the travelling preacher only. I have listened to local preachers whose preaching has been in this respect more adequate than is that of the average minister. But behind the preaching there must always lie faith in a gospel which is able to save to the uttermost. And whatever our local preachers may lack in some respects they have one supreme advantage in telling their message. It can never be imputed to them, as it sometimes is, however unjustly, to the travelling preachers, that they preach because 'they are paid to do it'.

THE WESTERN WORLD

BY THE REV. RICHARD PYKE

THE birth of Methodism in America resembled in all its vital features the beginning and spread of the work in this country. The counterpart of John Wesley was Francis Asbury. Both had helpers who were men of piety and gifts; both went out, not knowing whither they went. The societies in both countries came into existence as the result of an informed and courageous evangelism. There was the same atmosphere of high expectation, and a contagious enthusiasm.

Francis Asbury was not the first preacher sent to America by Wesley; but he was undoubtedly the greatest. The two who first sailed under the instruction of Wesley, and his Conference in 1769, were Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor; and it testifies to the ability of those who were drawn into Methodism that two men of such resource and fitness were available. But when, in 1774, they saw that war was imminent, these two preachers judged it wise to return to England. No doubt they did the right thing; but equally without doubt, Francis Asbury, who went to America in 1772, did the right thing to remain. It is true he had to go into hiding for some weeks, and for two years discreetly confined his ministry to Delaware. But he knew how to work and how to wait. He had a patience which matched both his courage and his piety. It is difficult to write with a cool pen when Asbury is one's subject. John Wesley did a greater thing than he knew when he first appointed this Staffordshire lad, to supply for an itinerant preacher who had broken down in the Gloucester area. Nor can we fail to recognize the insight which selected him as the young man best suited to sustain and develop the work in America. Methodism, like every other Church, has been to a large extent moulded, and given its distinctive qualities of expression and method, by its greatest men. We can all afford to be hero-worshippers,

when leaders like Wesley, Whitefield, and Asbury are under consideration.

America in the eighteenth century was in that stage of evolution, when its future was undetermined, and its great power of stirring life was battling with grave difficulties. Now that it has emerged, and become the country with at once illimitable resources and matured institutions, President Coolidge has recently described Francis Asbury as 'one of the builders of our nation'. He earned the well-deserved eulogy by the ceaseless dedication of forty-five years to the evangelism of a continent. He knew when to speak and when to be silent; when to yield, and when to be tenacious. America in his day resembled a headstrong youth, whom a severe and unimaginative parent seeks to keep in leading-strings. All the preachers, except Asbury, returned when the folly and madness of George III and Lord North insisted on taxes without representation, and precipitated the Revolution. Even John Wesley added to Asbury's troubles by a pamphlet which was destroyed as soon as the large consignment arrived. Wesley listened to Dr. Johnson rather than to Edmund Burke. He always believed himself to be right, and he usually was; but in this instance history has not approved his judgement; and his *Calm Address to the American People*, is now one of those curiosities which show how the wisest and best of men are sometimes less than infallible.

When one considers that Robert Strawbridge defied the inhibition of Wesley, and himself administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the numerous societies that had come to birth through his ministry, one can see how easily revolt might have ripened into rebellion; and Methodism might well have lost America, as England lost the Colonies. It was Asbury who subdued the restlessness of over ten thousand members who, in 1780, were without the hallowing influence of this means of grace. The originality of Wesley in making provision for the Sacrament among the Societies, is proof

of his fearlessness, if not of his logic. When he ordained ministers, and sent them forth with authority to administer the Sacraments, he met the need of a Church that had already attained vast proportions.

Asbury did not want to be a bishop; nor did Wesley intend him to be one. It was the American instinct for the adoption of names and forms which have been matured in other countries, and other conditions, that led to Wesley's *Superintendent* becoming America's *Bishop*. And if Tyerman may be trusted, Dr. Coke had a part in this nomenclature. The one hundred and fifty years which have since passed, have proved that guidance was not denied the earnest and whole-hearted Conference which decided that there should be both bishops and a clearly defined polity.

Just as in England, the early years of Methodism saw the emergence of men, with shining gifts, to aid Wesley in his tireless campaigns, so in America, men of superb qualities were forthcoming. The names of these have faded with the passing of the years, but in America the heart beats a little faster as the informed Methodist listens to such names as William Watters, Philip Gatch, Benjamin Abbott, Daniel Ruff, Peter Cartwright, William McKendree, and Freeborn Garrettson.

The *Journal* of Asbury is a record of journeyings, sufferings, successes and sorrows, not less human, and not less thrilling than Wesley's own *Journal*. He travelled, as I have computed, for the whole of his forty-five years, in America, an average of not less than a hundred miles a week. Most of the journeys were on horseback: many of them were through a trackless country. Sometimes the cold was so intense that the breath of his horse froze on its nostrils. He himself was always an ailing man. He had not Wesley's iron constitution. He was subject to frequent depression. 'I dwell among briars and thorns', he said, 'but my soul is in peace.' 'I have escaped from filth, fleas, and rattlesnakes.' It was in this way, and by means of such quenchless enthusiasm, that in one village

after another, in forests where only a handful of people lived, as well as in such towns as Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston and New York, societies were established that have endured through the generations.

The fluid state of society, the immature government, the difference in colour, the slave trade, and the vigorous independence of men who had had to contend with both forests and wild-beasts for a living, largely account for the considerable number of Methodist denominations which sprang up in the nineteenth century. While on the one hand no lover of unity can rejoice in well-nigh twenty different Methodist denominations, on the other, only an uninstructed cynic can fail to see in such Churches the evidence of spiritual vigour and intense earnestness.

The story of the sad division which took place in which the major Methodist Church was split in two in 1844 over the slavery question cannot be told here. It is difficult to see how it could have been avoided; and it is some satisfaction at least to know that the decision to separate was taken with a grave sense of responsibility, and without a bitter word.

Anyone who travels through the States to-day cannot fail to note with wonder, and, if he is a Methodist, with admiration, the number of spacious and beautiful sanctuaries, which have been raised throughout the land by generous and devoted Methodists. What the United States owes to those pioneers who carried the story of redeeming love to all sorts and conditions of people, throughout the land, no one can say; but we, who are in some sense the people who begat such a glorious Church, may well thank God and take courage.

Methodism in America has all the complex elements of the nation's life. No one rightly judges the spiritual or intellectual status of Methodism in that country, by pointing to reluctant groups who fiercely hold to an impossible theology. The Universities and Theological Colleges are alive

to learning, and all the light that comes flooding in from scholarship.

It is gratifying to know that now, after timid approaches, and much apprehension, there is a good prospect of 'The Methodist Episcopal Church' of the North, and 'The Methodist Episcopal Church, South' uniting on a basis of genuine brotherhood and mutual concession. With the healing of such an unhappy division, we may well expect that other, and smaller Methodist denominations will, in the same spirit, join the mighty community that has more than 28,000 ministers, Sunday Schools with over 6,000,000 scholars, and a Church membership of not less than 7,000,000. Other figures, equally impressive, might be supplied; but the test of a Church is its spiritual life; and this is not subject to the tables of the actuary. It is exhilarating to remember, that while we are celebrating in this country the evangelical conversion of John Wesley, at the same time in the 64,000 Churches of America there will be equal gratitude and praise for so great an event.

JOHN WESLEY AND LITERATURE

BY THE REV. W. BARDSLEY BRASH, M.A., B.Litt., B.D.

JOHN WESLEY was first and foremost an evangelist. His great task was to awaken a religious and moral revival in this land. But there were other, and important, by-products of his life and work. The material with which he worked was language—the spoken and the written word. He was both preacher and writer. In market-places, at the village cross, and in the chapel, he preached the Word. The preached word was one sword; but he used also another—the written word. Here he was like another reformer—Martin Luther—for both wielded those two swords. Wesley certainly knew the value of the written word. He wrote to the newspapers: published his *Christian Library*; issued his *Journal*: wrote innumerable letters: translated hymns, and

wrote many theological treatises and sermons. All of his literary work was occasional: it was called forth by the challenging circumstance. The value of much of it was passing, but there is a valuable remnant that abides. He was a classical scholar—steeped in that tradition. He came of good literary stock. The family history reveals that—for his father, his mother, his two brothers, and some of his sisters, possessed distinctively literary gifts.

He was widely read. He was a man of one book—and all the more so because he read so many. He not only read, but 'collected', criticized, and approved. He possessed what is so helpful to a man of letters—the background of the Scriptures and the classics, of general literature, and a wide knowledge of life. He knew books and men. Besides all this he saw things clearly—knew what he wanted to say—and said it. He writes without brocade, without the glittering word—but always with a telling forthrightness and perspicuity—and often coins the epigrammatic phrase. He uses his well-stored and logical mind—but is also helped by the heart strangely warmed. He understands and feels what he writes. He writes out of his experience. He thus tells what is real—for he has experienced it—and of what is real to others, for this great confessor of souls knows that many have experienced what he feels. There is much truth in the words of W. B. Yeats—'Literature is the child of experience always, of knowledge never'. Having such gifts, and writing so much, it would be surprising if John Wesley had not made some contribution to literature.

He certainly made a great gift through his translations of hymns. He took a few of the greatest hymns of the Church, translated them, and made them, in some instances, greater than they were in the original. In the realm of hymn-writing he is so overshadowed by his brother that we often miss the greatness of his contribution.

It is, however, in the *Journal* that he makes his greatest contribution to literature. That book needs no testimonials

—even from Fitzgerald, Birrell, *et alii*. It stands by its own excellence. We know few more interesting books—certainly no *Journal* is more appealing. It is different from other great *Journals*—but it stands with them. Evelyn, Pepys, Sir Walter Scott, and John Wesley, do not talk about the same things—but each produced something which is tingling with life. We can say of John Wesley's *Journal* what Pepys is so fond of saying—'It doth please me mightily'. We do not realize how hard it is to write a *Journal*. In the eighteenth century it was the fashion to keep a *Journal*—but how many have lived? One hundred and forty-seven years ago John Wesley closed his *Journal*—but age cannot wither, nor custom stale its infinite variety.

He was also a great letter-writer. We use the word—great—advisedly. It would be absurd to compare him with Charles Lamb, for he has not his irresponsible gaiety; or with William Cowper, for he has not time to write a 'talking letter' and has no 'divine chit-chat'; or with Keats, for he has not his poetic genius. But, nevertheless, he is a great letter-writer. His letters are in the main occasional, and some of them lose their value because they can be 'dated'. But some of them are surely amongst the best of letters. Some of his phrases are so memorable—'Though I am always in haste, I am never in a hurry; because I never undertake any more work than I can go through with perfect calmness of spirit'. How challenging are the words—'Give me one hundred preachers who fear nothing but sin, and desire nothing but God, and I care not a straw whether they be clergymen or laymen, such alone will shake the gates of hell and set up the kingdom of heaven upon earth'. How characteristic are his words—'I must and will save as many souls as I can while I live without being careful about what may *possibly be* when I die'. He can use, when necessary, the strong word of condemnation—'Sister Snowden is good-natured, but is a consummate slut: explain with her largely on this head: convince her that it is both a sin and a shame'.

How telling are some of his staccato sentences: 'Bear your cross, and it will bear *you*'; 'While I live itinerant preachers shall be itinerants'; 'Soul-damning clergymen lay me under more difficulties than soul-saving laymen'; 'By the grace of God I never fret, I repine at nothing, I am discontented with nothing'.

We believe that, although much of his apologetic work is out of date, the religious and literary force of his *Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion* and his *Farther Appeal* will give permanence to those two treatises. How martial and succinct are his *Twelve Rules of a Helper*! We have loved from youth his Preface to the Hymn-Book, and still love it. Its literary clarity is not its least distinction.

But his contribution to literature is not to be found merely in what he wrote, but rather in what he inspired. Wesley did much to break up the ice of rationalism, to cause the south wind to blow, and to bring in the great thaw. He digged once again the wells which had been stopped by eighteenth-century rationalism. He helped to awaken song—not only in Thomas Olivers, Edward Perronet, John Cennick, and others—but also in his brother, Charles. He was his great encourager. He did a great service to religion and literature, when he told his preachers to write the stories of their lives: to tell of what they had felt and seen, and not to speculate, but to write straight out of their hearts, and to write in the first person. So we have a priceless—although too much neglected—heritage in *The Lives of the Early Methodist Preachers*. If some of these sketches are not literature, I know not what is. Surely the story of John Furz, John Nelson, George Shadford, and others, take their place in the literature of autobiography.

It is strangely difficult to trace the streams which pour into the main rivers of English literature. It is so easy to be dogmatic. But we are certain that Wesley's valuation and love of the individual, his sense of wonder, and his controlled, yet deep, emotion, did much to alter the literary climate of

England, and to create an atmosphere in which the Romantic Revival could be born and thrive. William Watson sang of the early part of the eighteenth century,

She saw with dull emotion—if she saw—
The vision of the glory of the world.

Wesley changed all that. He awakened vital emotion—vision—wonder—love to God and man. It is not only philosophy that begins in wonder—literature is also its child. The 'wondering soul' of the Wesleys created other wondering souls—and from those wondering souls new life came into many quarters, and not least into literature.

THE WORLD PARISH

BY THE REV. HAROLD B. RATTENBURY, B.A.

THE latest available figures for World Methodism show, apart from the United Church of Canada, which is largely Methodist in origin, a membership of 11,634,647 with 7,808,777 Sunday-school scholars, 54,283 ministers and 81,948 lay preachers.

It is generally admitted that the total Methodist community throughout the world is in the neighbourhood of 30,000,000. Amongst Nonconformist Churches only the Baptists claim to have so large a membership. World figures, whether of Anglicans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians or other denominations, fall far short of ours.

The wonder is that Methodism, by far the youngest of the Protestant Churches, should, after two hundred years, have attained to so great a size. Little could Wesley have imagined, when he claimed 'the world is my parish', how prophetic that word was to be of verifiable fact.

Methodism has rooted itself in the United States and Canada, in Australasia and New Zealand, in Mexico and Brazil, in Japan and Korea, in France and Germany, as well

as in Great Britain and Ireland and those parts of Africa, Asia (India, China, Burma and Ceylon) and the West Indies which are the present sphere of the Methodist Missionary Society.

Methodism of the homeland, with its 828,950 members and over a million Sunday scholars, its 4,635 ministers and 33,465 lay preachers is but a fraction, though a very important and vigorous fraction, of the whole.

In Great Britain, following Methodist Union, we have become numerically far the largest so-called 'free' Church—a fact not yet fully recognized in Church circles. It is doubtful if we ought to be regarded as a free Church at all, thus losing our identity and genius in a general and not very meaningful name. Rather are we the natural bridge by which the historic Free Churches and the Anglican Church may hope to be united.

Neither, however, with Home Methodism nor with the separate Methodist Churches of America, Africa and parts of Asia is this article concerned, though they, of course, are part of the world parish.

We turn our attention rather to the Churches of the Mission Field, Churches young, vigorous, throbbing with new life, but still not separated from the Mother Church in these islands. It is actually on the Mission Field where Methodism seems to be most actively fulfilling its God-given task. That readers may visualize the magnitude of the task being carried on by the Overseas Missions Department, as headquarters, a few more figures must be quoted. There is an adult membership Overseas of 212,349, about one quarter as many as in Great Britain. There are also 171,593 members on trial as compared with Britain's 21,098, or eight times as many. Added to these are other baptized adherents, not yet counted ready to be placed on trial, amounting to 35,342. This makes a total, apart from children, under the direct pastoral care of the Church, of 419,284. When junior members and baptized children are added, the total Christian

community overseas is found to be no less than 695,814 souls.

For these the Overseas Missions Department stands ultimately in the relation of Home Mission Department, Educational and Medical Department, Theological Training Fund, Chapel Committee, Temperance and Social Welfare Committee, and Army and Navy Board. That is why four General Secretaries are in charge of the work overseas, apart from the special organization for Women's Work; and there is a permanent staff of efficient financial and clerical assistants. The volume of work, for which they are responsible, is enormous, and can only be understood as the whole organization of Home Methodism functioning overseas.

Yet this is only a temporary necessity, and not a permanent relationship. Over every Mission House should be written in letters of flame 'He must increase; I must decrease'. Mission Houses, as missionaries, only exist that they may cease to exist. The aim is always to set up Churches overseas that shall stand on their own feet and become, as speedily as may be, independent of, though in friendly relationship with, the Mother Churches of which they were born.

The two outstanding marks of Methodism overseas are a rapid tendency towards autonomy and self-government and the most remarkable evangelistic opportunity and success that Methodism at any time and in any land has ever witnessed.

Methodism won many of its earlier victories in Anglo-Saxon lands, colonies and dominions which were growing and prospering, and rapidly came to independence. In the last hundred years it has been quietly working amongst Africans, Chinese, Hindus and others whose economic development was slow and who only recently have been stirred by thoughts of independence. Yet she steadily plodded on, organizing classes, training local and itinerant preachers, teaching responsibility and leadership, and happily found herself not too ill-equipped, in a day of resurgent nationalism, to found independent Churches amongst independent peoples.

In revolutionary China, in progressive India, in awakening Africa she is fast becoming equipped to 'serve the present age'. All over the Mission Field African, Cingalese, Burmese, Chinese, Hindu and West Indian ministers are to be found in full equality of status and responsibility with their missionary brethren. It is a common and joyful experience for missionary juniors to be serving as colleagues with senior Indian, and Chinese superintendents. In 1934 another stage was reached when the first Chinese was appointed Chairman of his District. This has since been followed elsewhere in China and India and before long will become the rule rather than the exception.

At a time when that is possible, the Church is obviously growing up, and as it grows it does not look to Home Methodism alone but to its brother and sister Churches overseas. Shall we say the daughters are of age or at any rate near enough of age to be looking with wistful eyes into the future? The South India Union Scheme is the most important evidence of that; where Methodism, as the bridge between Anglicans and a Congregational-Presbyterian existing Union, is hoping not only to be the 'Friends of all, the enemies of none' but to be a real partner in a new and living and inclusive Church of India.

The same thoughts are stirring in Africa and China, the same inevitable trends are there not merely to perpetuate the divisions of the homeland but to unite these various streams of missionary endeavour into a rich and fruitful Union overseas.

Yet all this hopeful thinking and planning pales into insignificance beside the story of the Mass Movements. India is, for the moment, most vocal and most stirring. In South-West China amongst the aboriginal tribes and in Burma, among similar peoples, there is a like opportunity; whilst it was only yesterday that in French West Africa, in the Ivory Coast, Methodism added 50,000 members to her roll. There is hardly any limit to such opportunities in Africa.

In India the flame that began to burn in Hyderabad has now spread to Trichinopoly and Madras. Even the Mysore and parts of Northern India are stirred. We may be at the beginning of a land-slide in India towards religion as we know it; and Methodism has a great and vital part to play. Charles Wesley would find this triumph difficult to put into words. Hymn 263 is certainly inadequate to-day.

The districts overseas are showing a quite un-anticipated interest in Wesley Day. They seem to have seen in it an unparalleled opportunity for an evangelistic movement within and without the Church. They have no doubts about evangelism.

In all these things the women keep pace with the men; for nothing overseas is more encouraging than the tremendous strides that women are taking within and without the Church. Methodism has always had a place for women according to their gifts and service. Overseas, even more quickly than in England, woman is taking her rightful place in the Church.

Co-operation, evangelism, emancipation—those are the present-day marks of Wesley's World Parish.

THE 'WARMED HEART' AND ITS SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

BY THE REV. E. C. URWIN, M.A., B.D.

THE warmed heart of John Wesley was the flaming centre of religious revival throughout eighteenth-century England. It challenged the chilling aloofness of Deism, and melted the stern forbidding heart of Calvinism. God was a God nigh at hand and not afar off, and grace was free for all. Three great doctrines of evangelical religion leapt anew into life: Christ died for all men, *you* could be *sure* that God for Christ's sake had forgiven you all *your* sin, and the fruit of forgiveness was to be seen in a life of perfect love.

That such a gospel, proclaimed with the urgency and fidelity of the early Methodist preachers, produced individual transformations is not to be wondered at. 'The drunkard became sober and temperate; the whoremonger abstained from adultery and fornication; the unjust from oppression and wrong. He that had been accustomed to curse and to swear for many years, now swore no more. The sluggard began to work with his own hands that he might eat his own bread. The miser learned to deal his bread to the hungry, and to cover the naked with a garment. Indeed, the whole form of their life was changed. They had left off doing evil, and learned to do well.'

But individual transformations of this kind were not, and could not be, the whole story. In the experience of the warmed heart there was the ferment out of which a new social order should arise; in the doctrines of the great revival lay concealed the principles on which that order would be based. Not that this was completely discerned even by Wesley or any of his followers; perhaps not even yet, by Methodists of our own day, have the full social possibilities of evangelical religion been clearly recognized.

Certain results did immediately ensue. A new and sharpened sense of social responsibility took hold of the Methodist people: not least of Wesley himself. There has recently been occasion to trace the keenness of John Wesley's interest in the social and political issues of his day. 'He did not stand apart from the age nor aloof from the concerns of ordinary men, but was wide awake to all that went on about him. This alertness revealed itself in swift apprehension of the needs of the poor and oppressed, revolt from luxury, concern for social order, zeal for his country and loyalty to the King.' The range of his interests was amazingly wide. It extended from his constant solicitude for the poor, his sensitiveness to the power and peril of money, the changes he effected in social habits like smuggling, bribery at elections, luxury and insobriety, his concern for religious and civil

liberty and social order, to the American War of Independence and the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

The question, however, we really should ask is: what ought to be the social issues of the experience of the warmed heart and the doctrines by which it was interpreted? What should be, that is to say, the social conduct of people motivated by experience of the forgiving grace of God, and inspired by Perfect Love? What would be the nature of a society whose members were so directed in their way of living? Such societies, it may be remembered, the early Methodist societies were intended to be. Hence the Rules for the People called Methodists: avoid evil of all kinds, do good to all men, especially of the household of faith, and sustain yourselves by constant attendance at the means of grace. A new sense of social responsibility thus emerged.

John Wesley's own example is instructive. One moment in the experience of the warmed heart assured him that Christ had taken away *his* sins, even *his*! What sins? That question is seldom asked. What did John Wesley really repent of, before he obtained assurance of forgiveness? The answer can only be speculative. But read the instructive pages of the *Journal* that lead up to the story of the great experience. John Wesley visited prisons, cared for the sick and dying, went as a missionary to Red Indians, before he was 'converted'. What, then, had he to repent of? The only possible answer is: the spirit and temper in which he had done these things! The impression one gets is that of a priggish, pharisaic, censorious little clergyman, anxious always to be in the right and put everybody else right. It was legalism in religion of the most ascetic kind. There was *no grace* in it! Hence the irritation he caused, and the utter failure of his Georgia mission.

But afterwards? A man is a different man when he throws himself back on the forgiving grace of God, and realizes that it is not what he does, but what God does in and through him that matters. Hence this new solicitude for

the poor, his concern for children, his indignation against the wrong of slavery! God's love, His free grace for all, revealed itself in gracious living, and a new sense of the worth of the lowly, dispossessed and wronged!

To-day? What would human society be like if men were ruled and motived in all their deeds, individual and corporate, by the grace of God? Consider the sheer gracelessness and brutality of modern war, and the harsh ungraciousness of economic life! More grace and forgiving love in the Peace Treaties of 1919 would have saved Europe a peck of troubles since! Could we call our mean and niggardly treatment of the unemployed problem an act of grace? Fancy 'doling out' Grace! As a friend of mine, trained for the Methodist ministry, but now in the Mother Church of England, remarked when I spoke to him of the fascination the doctrine of divine grace had for me: 'Yes! Divine Grace! It's a wonderful doctrine! And the trouble is we make life so ungracious.'

If, therefore, the Bicentenary celebrations of May 24, 1938, are to bring a new awakening to Methodism throughout the world, it will be because we see again the significance of the free, forgiving grace of God, for individuals and society! The sins we have to repent of are the gracelessnesses of a power-loving, war-ridden, greed-motived world! The repentance will have to cut deep, and challenge the complacency of our selfish, security-loving hearts! One thing about true Christian salvation, paradoxical as it sounds, is that it would make us cease to be concerned about our own political and social security, and should shatter all pride and complacency. 'I submitted to be made more vile.' Grace accomplished that. The Methodist people throughout the world will need a great humility and a divine courage if they are to be big enough to fulfil the demands of divine grace in our age, and melt this sinful world's rebellious heart! That is the revival we need, and the only possible beginning of a new social order in the world!

E. C. URWIN.

MODERN YOUTH AND ALDERSGATE STREET

BY MRS. ELSIE HARRISON, B.A.

A SMALL boy who had lived most of his strenuous, if short, life in China recently returned to England. He did not like what he saw there. He said that, to him, his English relations looked old and wicked. They, for their part, would fain have discounted the soft impeachment by saying that his eyes were only used to the cherubic countenances of the children of the sunshine. But the remark rankled. What if there were some truth in it? It is as difficult to know what is passing in the mind of Modern Youth as to understand the cogitations going forward under the cap of that small critic. The older generation feels uncomfortable, and is prone to be blustering and self-assertive for it fears that it, too, is living the remnant of its days in an atmosphere of criticism.

Everyone agrees that the young people are splendid, and everyone also agrees that at times they make life highly uncomfortable. They will not listen peaceably to poor sermons, but on the other hand they have a disconcerting way of talking aloud in drawing-rooms of crucifixion and world salvation. They have a forceful bluntness and speak irreverently of spiritual Fascists in Bishop's Palace or on Methodist rostrum. They are cruel in their clearsightedness. They detect in a moment the folly of the man who talks always of himself, and who relates the whole creation to his own abject person. They demand a sense of humour and a divine levity to get the right view point upon this human ant-hill of existence. They would blow every shred of pose or histrionics to the winds. The unctuous is to them anathema.

And yet Modern Youth itself is highly self-conscious, but in a queer, neurotic, diffident way. Its boast of Communism and its talk of revolution partake of that strange contradiction which makes the invalid fond of tales of battle. Its talk of blood and of crucifixion is a means whereby faith in its own

prowess is sustained. Modern Youth is fond of crying havoc and at one and the same time is too nervous to buy itself a sports coat. To negotiate a strange railway ticket or a foreign currency puts it all in a flutter. Communistic it may be but only that it may gain peace of mind and become buried in an ideal State where no one notices anybody else's peculiarities. At the back of its mind is a craving to spread its own individuality in safety, but it is too self-conscious to do it in any other way than in the community at large. The State is to become its doting and highly useful parent.

Modern Youth has a soul which is hungry for fellowship and for safety. It may feel that its Church and its home do not understand the deep needs of its soul, but it trusts to find what it seeks in groups of its own friends tossing pancakes in the small hours in the drabest of Bloomsbury lodging-houses. And yet even here, in its mirth, it knows that it lacks a sense of direction. It wants to do so much but is fearful of making a beginning. Its safety lies in keeping together, either in the Bloomsbury pancake-tossing, or in the swarms of cyclists who infest the new arterial roads of England. It likes to travel a well-marked way with its eye on its neighbour's gaily coloured stocking, for behold! everyone wears the same badge of fellowship so that the mind may be in repose as to any possible danger of dissimilarity. It is, on the other hand, conscious of an individuality and by a queer twist of mind believes it is asserting it by refusing to ride on the tracks provided for it alongside the main road.

What will Modern Youth say to an Aldersgate experience? That bleak impact of the Unseen upon a man's soul is a fearful thing and not lightly to be taken in hand. The moment when a man comes to himself is too terrible to be faced alone so Modern Youth has invented the Group for his religious confessional and will 'share' his sins in that comforting element of friendship. When Wesley said he felt that God had forgiven him his sins, 'even mine', Modern Youth would think him unhealthily introspective. It prefers to view sin

in a community-setting and to condemn generations *en masse*. That Cross which stood in a place, a little way ascending, cannot bring tears to the eye of Modern Youth with its ancient implication of personal salvation. But, for him, as a symbol of the way of salvation for the community it holds its place unchallenged. It is his medium for exhorting boatrace crews, in their feat of vicarious suffering, as he rushes along the tow-path shouting 'crucify yourselves!' He talks constantly of a martyr nation, and joins the Peace Pledge Union in crowds to make a holocaust of youth at the first intimation of war. Modern Youth really believes in crucifixion, and pities the hard-headed, time-serving, arguments of its Prime Ministers and its shopkeepers. It has not stooped so low as to think that God is always on the side of the big battalions and the most astute statesmen. Never has youth more passionately desired to put Christianity into practice. It may lack a sense of individual sin, but it has a very good idea of the blasphemy of nations.

John Wesley would have made the ideal leader for Modern Youth. It would have followed him anywhere with his love for the outcast and the needy and his insistence that religion must be lived. To have seen Wesley, as an old man in the snow begging bread for the poor of London, would have warmed the heart of Modern Youth more than all the fires of Aldersgate Street. He would have harnessed all the wavering good intentions, all the craving for friendship and direction and linked them up into a glorious fellowship. Modern Youth would have found itself fulfilled in a Society such as Communism or Fascism has never glimpsed. But the tragedy to-day is that Methodism, with all the goods in her keeping, yet seems powerless to bestow them. Could she but recapture the warmed heart and the steady hand Modern Youth would be hers again for the asking. Wesley's band of rough riders were but the Modern Youth of his time. They were as sheep without a shepherd until he called them to his side. The question for May 24, 1938, is: Can Methodism enter a second

time into Aldersgate Street and be born? There will have to be a bonfire of insincerity, of egotism, and of sloth before Modern Youth will come again to the brightness of that shining.

WESLEY AND THE FREE CHURCHES

BY THE REV. ALBERT PEEL, M.A., Litt.D.

ALMOST in spite of myself John Wesley is one of my heroes. 'In spite of myself' because many times I have to say, 'What an insufferable autocrat', or 'What a fool the man is where women are concerned'; and then I reach out and take a volume of the *Journal*, and the old fascination steals over me; I realize again what a giant the little man was, and as I read of his journeyings and his care for all the Churches, and see him 'on the full stretch for God', I am made ashamed as I think of the poverty of my own work and witness.

John Wesley had no love for Dissenters. Not only did he cling to the Church of England, but he found them altogether too political for his taste. Nor did the Dissenters love Wesley and the revivalists in general; the eighteenth-century Nonconformists were far too respectable and conventional: if they were reformers in politics, even to the extent of supporting the American and the French Revolutions, they were conservative in religion and manners, and they hated to be disturbed and shaken out of their cherished modes of thought and worship. And there came this little whirlwind, preaching to crowds in the open air, driving people into hysterics, and incidentally doing things which were not done in their staid conventicles, such as receiving men who were besotted with drink and vice, converting them and sending them away, changed for ever, clothed and in their right minds. When Philip Doddridge welcomed Whitefield into his pulpit at Northampton in 1743, the Coward Trustees (who supported his Academy) solemnly rebuked him, saying among other things:

'You cannot be ignorant how obnoxious the imprudences committed, or alleged to be committed, by some of the Methodists . . .

have rendered them to great numbers of people. . . . Whenever (says the Secretary) I have heard it mentioned that Dr. Doddridge countenanced the Methodists—and it has been the subject of conversation much oftener than I could have wished—I have heard it constantly spoken of by his friends with concern, as threatening a great diminution of his usefulness, and by his adversaries with a sneer of triumph.'

The Coward Trustees to-day are still respectable (they include Dr. J. D. Jones and Dr. S. M. Berry), but they would not dream of rebuking even the most respectable Congregationalists (there are still some left) for inviting Mr. Tiplady or Dr. Soper to preach. Perhaps the trouble to-day is that Methodists have become respectable too!

The fire which ran through the stubble after Wesley's preaching was checked neither by denominational barriers nor social conventions; it spread everywhere. Men whose hearts the Lord had touched joined all the Churches; they were saved; they wanted to belong to the Lord's people; without asking questions about Church government they attached themselves to the nearest Church, some of them even, as a contemporary observer put it, 'subsided into Independent Churches'. Most of the Dissenting bodies had felt the blight of the rationalism of the day, and to them all the warmth of the evangelical preaching came, bringing unwonted blossom and much fruit. Between 1736 and 1836 the number of Independent Churches increased fivefold. Their ministers could not withstand the new movement: grave and learned as they were, they were scandalized at the illiteracy and emotionalism of Wesley's preachers, but though they still stressed the importance of doing all things decently and in order, a new note of earnestness and appeal came into their preaching, and to these Churches, too, were added day by day those who were being saved.

The Free Churches, as the Dissenters are now more positively called, owe much to Wesley. Most of all, of course, is the insistence on religious experience, as represented by his own conversion. While Methodism in these days does not fail to make its contribution to theological learning, it still stands

to remind the other Churches that it originated in a religious experience on May 24, 1738, an experience which should, in some form or other, be repeated in the hearts of all those who are redeemed.

Methodism's enrichment of the emotional life of the Churches found one of its most potent expressions in the service of praise. While in loyalty to my own denomination I should support Isaac Watts as the greatest English hymn-writer as against Charles Wesley, I should be prepared to admit it was a very near thing. Nor should we forget tunes. Listen again to John's words:

'They sing all over Cornwall a tune so full of repetitions and flourishes that it can scarce be sung with devotion. . . . Away with it! Let it be heard no more. They cannot sing our old common tunes. Teach these everywhere. Take pains herein.'

John Wesley made another great contribution to Church life when he listened to his mother's advice,

'My son, I charge you before God, beware what you do; for Thomas Maxfield is as much called to preach the Gospel as you are',

and recognized that laymen could be used of God to preach the Gospel just as well as ordained ministers. That witness needs to be made now more than ever. Too often men with theological training have grown apart from the common life of the people; they speak another language, live in another world; it is well that men who are earning their daily bread in the ordinary ways of life should tell their fellows in their own speech what the Lord has done for them.

Perhaps the relationship between the Free Churches and Methodists to-day can best be pictured by turning to R. W. Dale, whose *The Evangelical Revival* is still well worth reading, and whose *History of British Congregationalism* has much to say about the influence of Methodism. Dale, believing that the Revival

'lowered . . . the standard of general knowledge among Dissenters, so that to the superior information of the old Dissenting congregations, which were often assemblies of divines, succeeded the comparative ignorance of the Methodist societies',

argued that the Revival was defective both ecclesiastically and ethically. He said in regard to his own denomination:

'The Evangelical Revival of the last century, while it conferred on Congregational Churches blessings of immeasurable value, disturbed the true Congregational tradition; it led us to think that our work was done when we had prevailed upon men to repent of sin, and to trust in the mercy of God revealed through Christ for eternal redemption. Our wiser fathers thought that when this Divine triumph was achieved, their own work had only begun. It would be an exaggeration of the truth to say that we have reversed the parts which in their judgement belong to God and to the Church in the salvation of mankind; but it might almost be said that the early Congregationalists left the conversion of men very much in God's hands, and made it the chief duty of the Church to discipline and perfect the Christian life of those who were already Christians; we have thought that for the conversion of men the Church is largely responsible, and we have left them in God's hands for the development of Christian power and righteousness.'

All the Churches now realize the need, not only of the primary religious experience, but of the training which must follow it. To Wesley must be given the credit of putting first things first. As he said:

'I wish your zeal was better employed than in persuading men to be either dipped or sprinkled. I will employ mine by the grace of God in persuading them to love God with all their hearts and their neighbour as themselves.'

Christians in all communions rejoice with the Methodist Churches in the Bicentenary Celebrations of this year. They gladly acknowledge that there was a man sent from God whose name was John, and give thanks to Him for all that the people called Methodists have been enabled to do for the Church and for the world.

JOHN WESLEY AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

BY CANON T. GUY ROGERS, RECTOR OF BIRMINGHAM

THE Church of England, when it really gives its mind to the subject, thinks of John Wesley very much as the nation thinks of George Washington. George Washington was an Englishman. That is always something to his credit.

Unfortunately, he founded a republic which may one day be regarded as even greater than the country which gave him birth. He is an inconvenient sort of person, reminding the nation of its foolishness in the days of George III, and at the same time extorting a reluctant admiration because of his intrinsic enterprise and greatness. Time has contributed largely to smoothing out the irritations involved, but even to this day a certain psychological adjustment is needed for duly appraising one who might seem to have made a rift between the Mother country and its sons and daughters across the seas. The more thoroughly British were the people who followed him, the greater the sense of loss and the more dubious the name of their great leader. It was no case of a good riddance of bad rubbish, or, to be more polite, of misfits from a political organization glad to be rid of them, but of people regarded, as history looks back upon them, as flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone. Though we may know George Washington represented the real soul of the British people and embodied all that is worth while in its sense of liberty and civil rights, a kind of grievance, rational or irrational, often clouds our veneration and respect.

In a somewhat similar way, though no one would suggest the parallel is perfect, the Church of England finds itself embarrassed by John Wesley. We are proud that he loved to describe himself to the end as a Church of England man, and that in the tone and temper of his life he was so essentially a Churchman. He is recognized by all as bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. I have heard it said by Free Churchmen that the Methodists were the only body that left the Church of England on no ground of principle. I rather think that was intended to be to their shame! But at any rate it makes clear how by nature and by *ethos* Methodists were good Church of England folk. There could be no thought, in their case at any rate, of their departing from us because they were not really 'of us'.

Hence the sense of loss and the underlying sense of grievance,

rational or irrational, which requires psychological adjustment before our admiration of John Wesley is completely spontaneous and our recognition of his greatness altogether free from envy. The great republic which looks to him as its founder is numerically a larger State than his own mother country and, with the talent for organization which its great founder transmitted to it, far exceeds the actual working efficiency of the older State. Evangelicals within the Church of England, liable to be swamped by an exuberant Anglo-Catholicism, look almost wistfully to the serried ranks of fellow evangelicals outside their Church who could so easily redress the balance if they were within it. If only, they say, it could have been otherwise. If only the Church of England could have been wiser, if only the curse of the Act of Uniformity had not dogged our footsteps, if only the question of orders were not such a serious matter, if only the principle of toleration had come earlier into its own—If only!

I think this is the prevailing feeling. Appreciation is becoming stronger as irritation dies in contemplation of a great Church spiritually alive and sensitive to the new movement towards Reunion. Long forgotten is the old Arminian and Calvinist controversy which separated Evangelicals within and without the Church of England. I can still recall the last echoes of it for I can remember walking home as a boy from day school (Wesley College, Dublin) and as one brought up in the Calvinist tradition myself, seeking to confute the Arminianism of another boy brought up in the good Wesleyan tradition. How little we knew either of us—of life.

Gone, too, to a large extent, is the old, deep-rooted opposition to the invasion of the parish by itinerant preachers of the Gospel which Evangelicals resented quite as much as other Churchmen. The parochial system is in ruins so far as parishioners' loyalty to their own parish priest or their own parish church is concerned. It may not be all gain that every man should thus do what is right in his own eyes, but it certainly eases the situation greatly. Our parishes are invaded

by every kind of itinerant preacher of the Gospel and for the most part they are all sympathetically received. The bells of St. Martin's, Birmingham, which rang out to drown the voice of John Wesley preaching in the Bull Ring, are not likely to be rung to drown the voice of Mr. Frank Buchman if he should elect to leave his headquarters at Brown's Hotel and deliver the Gospel of the Oxford Groups in the Market Place.

This much we have learnt at any rate, from our mishandling of the Methodists. We are reluctant to drive anyone out of the Church of England. The most preposterous Romanism may function within it, but so long as there is any kind of devotion or sanctity of life attached to it we hesitate to do what logic demands. The Oxford Groups may assess our ministry at little value and make havoc of our parochial organizations, but we send them on their way to the next town with our blessings, fearful lest we should impede any work that may be of God.

At the back of our mind all the time, of course, is the thought: We did not treat the Methodists rightly. Do not let us make another mistake.

That leads me back to George Washington and the American colonies. I can end as I began. The bitter experience of the loss of American colonies taught Great Britain the true principles on which the British Commonwealth of Nations, self-governing, independent and yet united could be gradually built up, as one of the great political achievements of mankind. Perhaps on such principles and within such a framework is to be found the fulfilment of our cherished hopes of reunion. George Washington, by his successful rebellion opened the eyes of Great Britain to the true line of its own political development. Perhaps in the providence of God the 'successful rebellion' of John Wesley may open the eyes of the Church of England to the true line of organic development within the frontiers of the Catholic Church.

Notes and Discussions

TWO STUDIES OF WESLEY AND HIS CONVERSION

John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism. By Maximin Piette. (London: Sheed & Ward. 18s.)

The Conversion of the Wesleys, A critical study by J. Ernest Rattenbury. (The Epworth Press. 6s. net.)

TWELVE years ago a good deal of interest was aroused by the appearance of *La Réaction de John Wesley dans l'évolution du Protestantisme*. The author, a Belgian Franciscan, dedicated his work (a university thesis) to the memory of Cardinal Mercier, the heroic Archbishop of Malines. Dr. Harrison reviewed this French original in the *Methodist Recorder*, and the book was read and esteemed by a limited English circle. Now comes an English translation by the Rev. J. B. Howard, of California, published by a Catholic firm and furnished with forewords by the Catholic Bishop of Oklahoma and Dr. H. B. Workman. The publication, under such auspices, of an expensive book on John Wesley is a sign of the times. One of the significant features of modern life is the close study, by men of one nation or faith, of the literature, society and religion of another.

Von Ranke's *History of England in the Seventeenth Century* was a precursor. Of late, French scholars have produced first-rate studies of Robert Walpole, Marvell, Wycherley, Pope, Chaucer and Peacock. It is always interesting and often illuminating to have the foreigner's view. Differences of tradition and temperament enable new light to be thrown on familiar themes and personalities. Not only have we this literary and historical cosmopolitanism; what is even more welcome is the increase of that religious catholicity which prompts Protestants like Sabatier and Workman to produce elaborate studies of St. Francis, and Catholics like Léger and Piette to make notable contributions to Wesley research. In spite of the limitations of the eighteenth-century *zeitgeist*, John Wesley maintained a singularly catholic spirit, and would, we feel sure, look with more approval on these Catholic biographies than on some of those written by co-Protestants and even fellow-Methodists. During the centuries since the Reformation, the polemical spirit has had a good innings. Pride and prejudice have had their say. Now at last propaganda is beginning to give place to exposition.

Let it not be thought that the work of Father Piette is conceived in the spirit of that tepid tolerance, which is dangerously near to indifference. Loyal to his own Church, he finds it not only possible but congenial to study a Protestant leader calmly and sympathetically, and to recognize in him many precious and praiseworthy things.

Before examining Father Piette's views as to Wesley's place in the history of Protestantism, a word should be said about the translation.

Now translation from one language to another is a terribly exacting and shockingly ill-paid job. To produce a good translation is probably harder than writing an original book. Only those who have tried their hand know the difficulties. This translation is racy and fresh, but rather peppered with Gallicisms, and of course, exhales a quite perceptible American aroma. In his foreword Dr. Workman says, 'The translation, so far as I can see, is excellent'. Dr. Workman's occupational pre-occupations make it impossible and even undesirable that he should spend time on the minute examination of a translator's fidelity. An Englishman cannot reasonably complain of Americanisms, though it does give one rather a shock to find (p. 168) George Fox protesting against the misdemeanours of his friends in the words, 'If that's how you behave, I'm through'. (Si les choses en sont là, adieu.) Mr. Howard's language certainly does justice to the vigour of Luther's invective (p. 14), 'you dirty, low-down thief; you have swiped my writings and ruined my followers'. (p. 21) 'God damn you, you devil', and so on!

The book would gain by careful revision.

- p. 1. 'We must learn something of their leaders and be ready to gaze with astonishment at their tireless energy and perpetual keenness', is hardly a translation of 'L'esquisse sommaire de ces poussées d'âmes inquiètes est indispensable pour mettre en relief la vraie portée doctrinale et sociale du revival Wesléen'.
- p. 17. l. 4. 'Sixteenth' should be 'eighteenth'.
- p. 43. Do we *exert* implications?
- p. 59. A sentence needs re-writing. It should read, 'Did they not intend to exclude from the Lord's Supper, and exile and excommunicate from the city everyone?'.
- p. 73. 'Complete capitulation' is altogether too strong for 'l'investissement'. (The translator is fond of words like 'completely', 'absolutely', 'totally and completely'.)
- p. 73. Exoriare, aliquis, nostris ex ossibus ultor. The commas should be deleted.
- p. 111. 'Queen Caroline used *artlessly* to recount' . . . artlessly is hardly an equivalent for 'volontiers'.
- p. 125. 'The poor bishop . . . was not slow to understand,' is not a translation of 'ne tardait pas à savoir'. It should be 'soon learned'.
- p. 162. It was John Goodwin, not Thomas, who leaned towards Arminianism.
- p. 177. For 'impuissance' there is no need to say 'absolute impotence, utterly powerless'. Mr. Howard should beware of laying it on too thick.
- p. 182. 'It is very, very difficult indeed for State Churches, kept in tow as they are, by politicians and those in power, to bring about a general reformation.' What Piette says is 'Aux Églises d'État, domestiqués par les pouvoirs publics, il était bien difficile d'imposer une réforme générale'. It is

- one thing to 'bring about' a reformation; and another to 'undergo' one.
- p. 200. 'Pour ainsi dire', is just *not* 'literally'.
- p. 205. 'Une volume de vulgarisation'—'a book meant for the undiscerning masses' is too strong. 'A popular work' is quite sufficient.
- p. 210. 'le meilleur ouvrage d'ensemble' does not mean 'the best put-together piece of work', but 'the best comprehensive (or general) study'.
- p. 213. 'à cette hypothèse célèbre'. Why say 'this well-advertised *but somewhat threadbare* hypothesis'?
- p. 216. 'his (Samuel Wesley's) unaffected *yet* cultured behaviour' is a curiously naïve rendering of 'ses allures aussi simples que distinguées'.
- p. 225. 'La propriété' does not mean 'propriety' but 'property'.
- p. 236. The sentence 'widespread credulity of every description can be observed on every side' should be re-written.
- p. 249. 'des mauvais lieux d'Amérique méridionale' does not mean 'from the fever-laden shores of South America', but 'from the haunts of vice', or 'disreputable haunts'.
- p. 255. Father Piette must settle with Mrs. Elsie Harrison whether Betty should not be Sally Kirkham.
- p. 349. 'coup-de-théâtre' should be 'coup de théâtre'.
- p. 392. 'Cherchez le Seigneur pendant qu' on peut le trouver encore' should be 'Seek ye the Lord'—not 'search ye'.
- p. 412. 'Qu'ils furent tous profondément tributaires de leur pays et de leur temps' means 'they were deeply indebted to their country and to their age', not 'that they all laid their native lands and their own times under considerable obligation, and a deep debt of gratitude'. The opposite is meant, viz. 'that they', (Wesley and other great men) were 'under obligation'. Fr. Piette's point is the indebtedness of great men to their environment.
- p. 417. 'Je n'entreprends pas de réfuter' should be 'I do not undertake to refute', not 'I do not *understand*'.

Any study of a front-rank Christian leader is bound to raise old, fundamental and perhaps insoluble, questions. This is particularly true of Wesley. The late Dr. R. F. Horton observed to the writer more than once, that John Wesley was the sanest of the great religious reformers. This is probably true. It explains why Wesley, during his life-time and afterwards, has been misunderstood and misrepresented both by friends and foes. It is easy to emphasize his inconsistencies. But truth is at least as complicated a matter as the spectrum. Nobody thinks of its various colours as being 'inconsistent'; they are complementary and in combination make up light. With all his limitations, imposed upon him by heredity and environment, Wesley's religious conceptions were essentially comprehensive and constructive. Disciples and critics have seized upon one or other of his tenets, and by abstraction and over-emphasis have distorted them. So during

his life he was now accused of being a Papist and then of being an Anabaptist and an Antinomian. Wesley did not see at any one time the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth; but taking his career and spiritual development as a whole, he saw as much of religious truth, on both its Godward and manward sides, as any man in history. He came as near as any to the understanding and expression of the elemental laws of Christian vitality.

The first half of Fr. Piette's book sketches the European and English background.

English readers will find here a vivid and well-proportioned account of the various Protestant bodies—Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Pietists. The treatment of the Anabaptist movement is specially full and illuminating. These European chapters are followed by a bird's eye view of the dissident sects in Great Britain—Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and Quakers. Dr. Piette would not claim that there is much that is new in this outline. Its value lies in the author's skilful control of his material.

The main thesis of the book is that Wesley rehabilitated and saved Protestantism for the modern world. Such a contention cannot be demonstrated; but when one remembers the paralysis of orthodox Lutheranism, the decline of Calvinism, the decadence of the dissenting sects, the general doctrinal and institutional chaos so trenchantly exposed by Bossuet, Dr. Piette's view may seem well-founded. This does not mean that but for Methodism there would have been a Roman Catholic revival. It does mean that apart from Methodism, Protestantism would have drifted still further towards scepticism, secularity and impotence. Father Piette's most interesting chapters deal with the consequences of the break-up of the unity of the Church in the sixteenth century. The 'reformers' had to find some alternative to the old system. Luther exploited nationalism and relied on 'the Prince'. Calvin, the systematizer *par excellence*, gave Europe a rigid theological scheme and an inquisitorial Church—a protestant papalism in fact. Finally, the Anabaptists reduced organization to a minimum and pushed 'gospel liberty' to such lengths as to drive Luther to apoplexy. The last thing Luther desired was the multiplication of little Luthers.

It is most interesting to observe how all these continental variations were reproduced in England. The Tudor settlement gave us a National Church, with the sovereign as defender of the faith. Catholic and Protestant dissidents were equally obnoxious to the law. This approximated to the Lutheran compromise. Then Calvinism, in its British Presbyterian dress, having gained tolerance, proceeded to deny it to others. Faith and order were *jure divino*. New Presbyter was but old Priest writ large. Finally, Anabaptist individualism brought forth a rank prolific harvest of mystical and prophetic cults. By the early eighteenth century all of them were largely discredited. State Anglicanism, Puritan Presbyterianism, the individualistic sects—all were 'on the rocks'. Guarding against exaggeration, we may say that on doctrinal, institutional and moral sides alike, the creative

impulse seemed exhausted. The valley was full of dry bones. Such was the situation when Wesley arrived on the scene. Let us ask how Wesley reacted to the various influences enumerated above.

1. *Lutheranism.* Wesley did justice to the good in Lutheranism. He appreciated the value of a State Church, and also gave new currency to Luther's doctrine of 'justification by faith'. Nor could he forget that it was when someone was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans, that he felt his heart strangely warmed. Nevertheless his orderly and profoundly ethical mind became acutely and increasingly aware of the danger of Luther's 'solifidianism'. It would be hard to find even in Roman critics of Luther, harsher words of condemnation than Wesley used. The disastrous consequences which 'faith without works' produced caused him to repudiate Luther's commentary, and to warn his congregations 'against that dangerous treatise'. In one place he speaks of 'Luther's crazy solifidianism'. Similarly, while venerating the English State Church, and never ceasing to see Christianity in the light of the Catholic tradition Wesley (under stress of practical necessity) made grave departures from Anglican order in his peripatetic field preaching and ordinations. Yet Wesley said in 1765: 'I think on justification just as I have done any time these seven and twenty years, and just as Mr. Calvin does.' And, to take out of Wesley's message, 'By grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God' is to remove the keystone.

2. *Calvinism.* It is true that Wesley was always a convinced Arminian. His controversy with the Calvinists of his day was rigorous indeed. It has been said 'Methodism killed Calvinism'. Wesley rejected the doctrine of predestination as 'full of blasphemy', cancelling the first principle of Christianity, namely the essential righteousness of God. But Wesley was a Protestant, and the doctrine of predestination was the very foundation of the Reformation, almost the only doctrine held in common by all the reformers. Moreover, Wesley warns his preachers against 'running away from Calvinism as far as ever we can'. 'The true Gospel lies very near, within a hair's breadth, comes to the very edge of Calvinism.' Again, while solemnly professing his undying loyalty to Anglicanism Wesley made a breach with the English Church by himself (a Presbyterian) ordaining Coke and others. Tyerman spoke the truth—'Wesley lived and died a hearty but inconsistent Churchman'.

3. Once again Wesley's experience of the excesses of the Herrnhut pietists caused him to repudiate their 'poisonous mysticism'. Yet who has seen more clearly than Wesley, that the incommunicable essence of religion is the relation of the individual soul to God, the *unio mystica*? So it is all the way through. Like St. Paul, Wesley was 'a debtor' to à Kempis, to Jeremy Taylor and Brevint, to Luther and Loyola, to Francis and Calvin, to Pascal and Law. It is no wonder that Wesley is the quarry of those who hunt for inconsistencies in religious leaders. (Speaking personally, I regret that Lytton Strachey, that eighteenth-century spirit, never wrote a study of Wesley.) A deeper judgement will rather emphasize his comprehensiveness. He

had in the highest degree what Bagehot called 'an experiencing nature'. Probably no man ever assimilated a wider range of religious tendencies.

It is characteristic of Wesley that he maintains a belief in the authority and necessity of an organic Church, and also insists upon the reality and value of personal experience. All the way through he evades or transcends sectarian and partisan categories. The fact is, Wesley knew the richness of Christian truth to be too great to allow of the simpler solutions that were favoured by more limited and less balanced men. He was at one with the Quakers in his reliance upon inward experience, only instead of divorcing the witness of the Spirit from the historical objectivity of the word of God in Scripture and in the Church, he tied them closer together.

A good deal of water had flowed under the bridges between the revolutionary days of Luther and Calvin, and the more constructive epoch of Wesley. Not that even in his case were the immemorial antinomies of religion perfectly harmonized. Such tension can never be finally resolved until the limitations of mortality are outgrown. Human history is largely the record of man's hypnotization by half-truths. Form and spirit, Transcendence and Immanence, Priest and Prophet, History and Experience, Order and Liberty, Grace and Free Will, Faith and Works, Mysticism and Discipline, Idea and Institution, Spirit and Letter—between the fell-incensed points of these mighty opposites, who can maintain a perfect balance on the razor-edge of truth?

What we can affirm is that Wesley took mankind a step nearer to the goal. Standing on the shoulders of the Reformers he saw further than they did. Being of a logical turn of mind ('un virtuose du syllogisme'), he perceived the startling consequences (in theory and in practice) of riding any doctrine to death. Besides, his temper was far from speculative. The practical side of religion fascinated him. He was a Pragmatist before his time. He saw all round him, in England and in Germany, evidences of the nullity that waits upon a merely intellectual or 'orthodox' Christianity. He himself had patiently trodden the arduous road through the various outercourts and holy places of religion, until he had penetrated to the Holy of Holies. There in the light of the Shekinah, he found the Lord and came to himself. 'A sure confidence of the love of God' to him; his own heart aflame with joyous answering love—that was the incandescent focus to which the Divine Providence working through country, church, family, university, personal vicissitudes, had brought him. Aldersgate Street was neither a beginning nor an end, but it was the decisive watershed. To love God with all his heart and soul and mind and strength, and to love his neighbour as himself, was no longer a beauteous light seen from afar. That light had shined in his heart.

Picture to yourself the saint, the logician, the Church-builder, exploring in his dogged, honest way the implications of that experience; what had made it possible, how it had come to be, how it could be preserved and perfected, how finally it could be communicated and perpetuated in such a world as this—and you have the clue to Wesley's

conception of theology, of discipline, and of external organization. Let us conclude with a word which the generous spirit of Father Piette would welcome: by his vivid realization of the essential elements of religion, Wesley not only transformed his age; he transcended it. He was a bigger man than his Anglican critics; he was a bigger man than his Methodist followers and successors. Seen in his true light Wesley stands out as a prophet of Christian unity. For a modern Methodist to degrade Wesley into a sectarian protagonist is to offer him an unpardonable affront.

As the bicentenary of Wesley's conversion draws near, many Methodists will be asking 'What is the best book to read as a preparation for the great event?' If no more than a single volume were possible, Dr. Rattenbury's latest study would be my choice. A labour of love and piety on the part of a genuine theologian and a true son of the Wesleys, this book may be taken as a judicial summing-up upon recent Wesley literature.

The merits of Piette's work, of the two dissimilar yet valuable studies by the American Methodists, Croft Cell and Umphrey Lee, and of Henry Bett's Fernley-Hartley Lecture, are recognized and assessed. Piette, notwithstanding his candour and charity, found it hard to do justice to Wesley's 'evangelical' conversion, and tends throughout to minimize Wesley's 'Protestantism'. Cell, on the other hand, in his impressive analysis of Wesley's theology, stresses his 'Calvinism' and depreciates the Arminian and Catholic elements. Lee's delightful book was written after Cell's, and though not a counterblast, has a marked predilection for the 'modern' and humanistic factors. Dr. Bett's vigorous and able review, once again, reveals the standpoint of its author, as well as that of Methodism. His defective sympathy with Anglicanism prevents his doing justice to vital components in the make-up of John and Charles Wesley.

Disciples have always tended to make their leaders in *their* image. The Wesleys have suffered as much as most great men from partisan estimates. In this work of distortion professing followers have been as guilty as opponents. One school insists that Wesley was a sort of Free Churchman before his time; that his essential affinities were with the subjective pietists, but that, unfortunately, his training and temperamental conservatism prevented him from throwing aside his Anglican wrappings. The other school belittles the importance of the Aldersgate Street experience, calls attention to Wesley's strictures on Luther and Calvin, notes approvingly the signs of later movement to the ecclesiastical Right, and claims the Wesleys as being, *au fond*, High Churchmen and Anglo-Catholics. It is no exaggeration to say that no man is better qualified to intervene in this controversy than Dr. Rattenbury. He appreciates the 'evangelical' element in Wesley's conversion and argues cogently that May 24, 1738, was the epoch-making date in Wesley's career. It is on this very point that he joins issue, strenuously but always courteously, with Piette,

who dismisses the Aldersgate Street crisis as a more or less evanescent gust of feeling; with Lee, who decides that it was not an 'evangelical conversion' but a mystical elevation of a good man to a higher platform; and with the Psychologists, who, by leaving out the action of God upon His chosen instrument, do not so much explain Wesley's experience as explain it away.

Dr. Rattenbury has always been a student and champion of Charles Wesley. In estimating the importance of May 24, 1738, he makes valuable use of Charles's parallel experience on May 21, as an elucidation of John's. The hymns, also, of Charles are adduced not only as the most vital expression of John's teaching, but the most authentic commentary upon his personal deliverance. In this part of his subject Dr. Rattenbury is in substantial agreement with Cell, who brings into challenging prominence the Calvinistic and Moravian character of John's conversion.

The first four chapters of the book will command general agreement among British Methodists. The long final chapter is the most striking of all, and will meet with criticism. It is entitled 'Wesley's Catholic Retroversion'. Wesley was an emancipated, but by no means a finished man after May 24, 1738. His practical and ethical temper increasingly recoiled from the fury of Luther's 'faith only' teaching. Dr. Rattenbury has done great service in calling attention to Wesley's 1770 *Minutes of Conference*. Every Methodist should read, mark, learn and inwardly digest pages 184-188 in this book. Luther would have disliked this section. For Wesley was even more concerned about salvation from the power of sin than from the guilt and penalty of it. Here is the unique sanity of Wesley. He did not allow his 'Moravian' conversion to plunge him into individualistic or mystical, let alone antinomian excesses. He refused to countenance the common, and false, antithesis between personal and institutional religion, between the evangelical and the sacramental. 'I love Calvin a little, Luther more, the Moravians, Mr. Law and Mr. Whitefield far more than either. But I love truth more than all.' The love of truth has been called 'the faintest of human passions'. Wesley doggedly struggled to attain it.

In his comprehensive *Christian Library* he included no work either by Luther or Calvin. He never supposed that Christianity began in Germany in the sixteenth century. No one was ever more alive to the limitations of controversial logic. Reality overflows the bounds set by clear-cut theories. The great theological systems need to be scrutinized because they were the work of men who had rebounded (probably excessively) from some previous position. This is true even of St. Paul. It is flagrantly true of Luther. For example, his doctrine of 'by faith alone' and its corollary, 'imputed righteousness', is marred both by morbidity and paradox. It was an extravagant reaction from his old over-scrupulous reliance upon penances and good works.

Even on the crucial issue of 'Justification', the Catholic-Protestant controversy is really a matter of emphasis. Their doctrines are not

mutually exclusive. It is impossible to separate, in real life, Justification and Sanctification under the headings of what God does *for us* and what God does *in us*. The process of becoming righteous has already begun in those who by faith are united to Christ and forgiven. Fletcher's way out of the difficulty was to suppose *two* justifications—the first giving peace to the troubled conscience of a sinner, despairing of self and trusting in Christ alone for salvation; the second in the Last Day when men are judged according to their works. Luther went far towards cancelling the categories of sin and holiness, and substituting guilt and forgiveness. Even Harnack stresses the comparative failure of Luther to deal with the moral question. (To Erasmus, Justification and Sanctification were organically and inseparably linked.)

Now Wesley was intensely ethical in his outlook. It was he more than any other, who in Protestantism restored 'moral transformation' to its unity and equality with 'divine forgiveness'. Wesley was nearer to the decrees of the Council of Trent than to what he called 'Luther's crazy Solifidianism'.

It is easily understandable that Wesley's critics should have accused him of 'Popery', for his teaching about Christian Perfection is derived from Oxford, from Jeremy Taylor, Thomas à Kempis, William Law, and from the Catholic stream of piety. Dr. Cell puts it, 'The Wesleyan reconstruction of the Christian ethic of life was an original and unique synthesis of the Protestant ethic of grace with the Catholic ethic of holiness'. Dr. Rattenbury quotes the late P. T. Forsyth's *Christian Perfection* as being the finest statement of the Luther-Zinzendorf conception of full salvation by faith. But Dr. Forsyth materially modified his views in later life and caused some consternation among his old ultra-Protestant comrades!

Having Catholic ideals of holiness, Wesley (for all his charity) could never overcome his distaste for Dissent. He remained, as Alexander Knox wrote, 'a Church of England man of the highest tone'. In theological outlook, personal tastes and careful practice, Wesley remained a Churchman. His overmastering sense of vocation constrained him, as is well known, to commit certain ecclesiastical irregularities. Nevertheless he was shocked when ill-balanced followers construed his 'Societies' as a substitute for the Church.

In spite of severe provocation and even persecution, Wesley stubbornly refused to separate what God has joined, namely, the Gospel and the Church. By his advocacy of the sacraments, by his constant sacramental devotions, his preference for liturgical worship, his emphasis on ancient Church discipline, Wesley not only out-grew Moravianism but transcended the prejudices and half-truths that keep Catholic and Protestant from realizing how much they really have in common. Not perfectly in logic, but most convincingly in life, Wesley united the Pietist and the Churchman. They helped, far more than they hindered, one another. His conversion experience was kept alive and completed by the churchmanship he practised.

Passion always urges men to take up extreme positions. Once taken, pride must defend them. Wesley brought passion and pride to heel as much as any man who ever lived. It is for Methodists to assimilate his ardent and comprehensive wisdom. The power of 'Aldersgate Street' will be dissipated and lost unless Wesley's churchly ideals are also embraced. There may be a temptation to exploit the bicentenary for sectarian ends. Let Wesley's shade warn us from such profanity. What would our Father in God have said had he been told that the day would come when a man's pro-Anglicanism would be taken as evidence that he was a bad Methodist?

F. BROMPTON HARVEY.

JESUS AND HIS SACRIFICE¹

A DESERVEDLY warm welcome has already been given to Dr. Vincent Taylor's new and stimulating book on the Atonement. He has discovered a fresh path of approach, and one which he is particularly fitted to tread. The doctrine of the Atonement emerges, in the minds of most people, from the writings of St. Paul; certain side-lights are thrown on it from the Johannine books and Hebrews, and perhaps a few other texts here and there; but little is usually looked for in the words of our Lord as recorded in the Synoptics. Dr. Taylor would suggest that this method puts the cart, so to speak, before the horse. Our Lord spoke about His death long before anyone else wrote about it; and who could speak with more authority than He? Further, He made many more references to His death than are generally examined in treatises on the Atonement, and all these call for attention. The body of the book is therefore taken up with a consideration of all the sayings that have any connexion with our Lord's death; and to this task Dr. Taylor brings a wealth of knowledge and a technique of criticism which are beyond most writers on the subject. Already one of our foremost authorities on Synoptic study, he carries his work through with conspicuous caution, never allowing the records to say more than he is obliged, but coming to the conclusion, which will surely be welcome to the reader of this journal, that there is no compelling reason for denying the origin of any one of them to our Lord.

Naturally this method of study has its limitations; for although Dr. Taylor, in the selection of his passages, casts his net widely, we cannot safely isolate even this aspect of our Lord's teaching from the rest. It must be taken all of a piece, or it will run the risk of being misunderstood or misinterpreted. The Passion was the culminating point in our Lord's life of redemptive obedience; but in His case least of all can His death be separated from all that He did and taught. Moreover, we are in danger of being led by this method to pass over the teaching of the rest of the New Testament, and especially of the Pauline writings and the Epistle to the Hebrews, although Dr. Taylor

¹ *Jesus and His Sacrifice*. By Vincent Taylor, D.D., Ph.D. (Macmillan & Co. 10s. 6d.)

devotes some attention to 1 John. It may indeed be urged that Jesus is the best interpreter of His death; but it is equally easy to reply that before that event our Lord could not but have felt the necessity for the reticence and obscurity in His sayings which Dr. Taylor makes so clear; and that we cannot therefore reach any satisfactory conclusion, even as to His own thoughts, without considering the convictions of those who looked back on Calvary with the knowledge that His promises had been fulfilled in their own experience.

It is true that Dr. Taylor devotes a careful section to the Pauline account of the institution of the Last Supper; and it may be argued that St. Paul's interpretation of the atoning death of Christ, elsewhere, is his own affair, and has no relation to Christ's own thought, and therefore no significance for us, though we do not think that Dr. Taylor would agree with this. But it is certainly worth asking whether the views of one who was so intimately acquainted with certain words of our Lord,¹ and became so closely connected with those who had been nearest to Him in His earthly life, should not be borne in mind in eliciting our Lord's conception from the records, by no means complete or exhaustive, which have come down to us.

To Dr. Taylor, Christ's death is essentially a sacrifice; this is emphasized in the title of the book. It is penal, if that solemn and difficult word is rightly understood; and it is best carried on and appropriated in the eucharistic life of the Church. Each of these three points is worked out with deep feeling and close reasoning; but the difficulty—and it is a serious one—is that none of them finds any clear place in the actual words of our Lord, or indeed in the rest of the New Testament. This is clearly a point which calls for special attention when we are concentrating on the passion sayings in the Gospels. The one exception for the rest of the New Testament is the Epistle to the Hebrews. This letter, indeed, speaks constantly of Christ as both priest and sacrifice; but it is to prove that both His priesthood and His sacrifice were in entire contrast to anything that could be found in the Jewish law or anywhere else. Our Lord never uses sacrificial terms of His death. The one quotation that He makes from Isaiah liii is not sacrificial. The chapter would appear to have been constantly in His thoughts; but it is as far from definite sacrificial reference as were His own words. The word translated 'offering' (v. 23), if it has any ritual meaning here at all, was not used for the sin-offering, nor, it is probable, was 'the lamb led to the slaughter' either the paschal lamb or the lamb slain for sin at the altar.

Similarly it will be acknowledged that Jesus never spoke of His death as a punishment, either for His own sin or for the sin of others, or even as connected with a penalty; nor is the thought of God as inflicting a penalty anywhere referred to in the passion sayings. No one will wish to deny that in instituting the supper, Jesus was looking into the eyes of His coming death, or that St. Paul, in the one passage in which he refers to the Eucharist, connects it with Christ's death; but there is nothing in the words of the Gospels or of 1 Corinthians xi

¹ See C. Anderson Scott, *New Testament Ethics*, pp. 75 ff.

as they stand to suggest that we receive the benefit of Christ's death or show our obedience to Him in some pre-eminent way in the sacrament of the Lord's supper; and in view of the silence of the rest of the Gospels, and of the New Testament as a whole, it is surely precarious to attribute this doctrine to Jesus.

On each of these three points, Dr. Taylor holds to the word, but seems in his exposition to give nearly all that might be desired to one who deprecated its use. To turn first to the subject of sacrifice. Dr. Taylor is clear that our Lord was not 'deeply influenced by the cultus' (p. 296). Sacrifice is not 'a means for appeasing an angry God' (p. 294). Christ's sacrifice has 'a moral and spiritual value which has no parallel elsewhere'. He raises His action 'into a new category of sacrifice' (p. 295). It is not 'a "transaction", the benefits of which can be transferred to the account of another' (p. 282). Nor was His suffering 'a work accomplished apart from the response of men' (p. 313). We find 'the source of His indebtedness, not so much in the cultus, as in that sublimated expression of the sacrificial principle which is found in the description of the Suffering Servant' (p. 296).

It is certainly true that if the obedience of the Servant is sacrificial, it is completely different from anything that a Jew associated with a sin-offering, though it might perhaps suggest the ritual of the goat 'for Azazel'. With this Dr. Taylor is in full agreement. The cultus idea must be given up; 'the highest expression of sacrifice is found in a representative offering which the worshipper makes his own in seeking renewed fellowship with God' (p. 294). The second clause here refers to the Eucharist; but it would be better to omit the word 'renewed'; it is from the death of sin and not merely from a temporary loss of fellowship that Christ brings us to God; and the offering, as Dr. Taylor often reminds us, is the offering of a devoted life, of which Christ's physical death on the cross was only the culmination. (Ephesians v. 2 must be interpreted in the light of Romans xii. 1, xv. 16 and Philippians ii. 17, iv. 18.) If then the essential element in Christ's work was His willing obedience, it was the one element which was necessarily absent in the animal victims of the sin-offering; we can understand why the term sacrifice appears to have been so carefully avoided by our Lord; and it may be asked whether an enormous amount of misunderstanding (against which Dr. Taylor does not omit to warn us) would not have been avoided if His followers had copied His example.

The cultus view of sacrifice, in spite of a wide-spread impression to the contrary, has nothing to do with punishment. Nothing in the Old Testament suggests that the 'pure' animal offered on the altar was punished for the offerer. But if there was no penal element in the cultus, was there one in the 'sublimated' sacrifice of Christ? Dr. Taylor feels very strongly that there was. Christ did not indeed suffer a vindictive or substitutionary punishment; nor had 'the justice of God to be satisfied before He could forgive sinners' (p. 286). 'Penal suffering is not the expression of a legal principle' (much less, one may suppose, of a forensic necessity) 'but an ethical and spiritual manifesta-

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tion of the divine activity' (p. 288). God does not need to be 'placated'; but 'His love can be satisfied with nothing less than a perfect response from man'. That is truly said; but is it the same thing as saying that love cannot be satisfied till it has inflicted suffering on the sinner or some substitute for him? On the other hand, if punishment does not mean inflicting suffering on the sinner, what does it mean? It is true that sin entails painful and disastrous consequences, physical, mental, social and spiritual, to the sinner, and also not seldom to others; and that the sinner, when he comes to himself, will feel an agony of shame and contrition unknown before; but this is

The godly grief, the pleasing smart,
The meltings of a broken heart,
The tears that tell your sins forgiven;

can it be called suffering inflicted by God for sin? Jesus, by the *Einfühlung* which was the consequence of His Incarnation, felt this shame as if it were His own; His suffering 'is penal only in so far as it is a sharing in the sense of desolation and loss which sin brings in its train when it is seen and felt for what it is' (p. 161). But this is all so different from what we usually mean by penal that it would seem better to follow the New Testament writers, as Dr. Taylor himself half suggests (p. 289), in avoiding a term whose use needs such careful explanation. It is difficult to see the 'penal' element in Christ's 'sacrifice', unless one or the other or both words are used in a sense which Dr. Taylor disavows.¹

On the Eucharist Dr. Taylor writes in moving language. 'The culmination of sacrifice is sharing in the life offered by means of the sacred meal' (p. 295). 'The supper is a means whereby His disciples participate in the power of His self-offering' (p. 313). 'The Eucharist must stand at the centre of Christian worship as a means whereby man approaches God and appropriates the blessings of Christ's self-offering' (p. 322). All worship is 'the response of the creature to the eternal' (p. 318); and the Eucharist, to the Christian, is worship's highest expression.

Everything that will help to put the Eucharist into its proper position in these days is welcome; and there is a growing desire, whether influenced by Anglo-Catholicism or not, to urge the duty of more frequent and more expectant communion. Few Christians deny that the Lord's supper is, or may be, a means of appropriating the blessings of Christ's redemption. Would Dr. Taylor go further? He does not say that it is *the* means; but he implies that it is the most important means; and that 'the Eucharist offers its supreme opportunity for participation in the Sacrifice of Christ' (p. 324). To join in this ritual feast is the supreme act of Christian obedience. Such an

¹ The reference to Christ's sufferings in Hebrews v. 8 suggests another and rather startling reason for them. Christ does indeed refer elsewhere to divine punishment, but only in a very different context; Lk. xii. 48, Mt. xxv. 46—if we are allowed to regard these words as His. The question which the New Testament scholar must ask, when he speaks of punishment, is whether he means *κόλασις* or *παιδεία*. Can either be representative or vicarious?

assertion might come from a dogmatic theologian or a liturgiologist; but can it come from a student of the New Testament? Our Lord indeed could not well have referred to the Supper, and its repetition, however important it was felt to be, before the evening when it was instituted; but, conceding that only a few words could be said on the matter, the critical problem of the words used and their precise significance, is, as Dr. Taylor shows, very far from being solved. If, however, the disciples had learnt on that last evening to attach so much importance to the rite, we should surely have expected to hear more of it in the epistles. That the rite was celebrated from the beginning is undoubted; though we do not know how far it was at first regarded as commemorative of Christ's death. But St. Paul only refers to the Supper once, and then to put right some flagrant abuses; elsewhere, in the scores of passages in which he expounds the believer's union with Christ, he never suggests that it has anything to do with a Eucharistic meal. The passage in John vi. 51-56 is generally understood as having a Eucharistic reference; but that cannot be said with confidence about the rest of the discourse; and whatever the strange words about the flesh and the blood may mean, they cannot be supposed, without taking liberties with the whole Johannine teaching, to mean that unless we partake of the elements in a ritual meal, however sacred, we 'have not life in ourselves'. Faith in the bread which came down from heaven is surely more than the believing reception of the bread at the holy table.

Further, are we justified in neglecting the whole tenor of our Lord's teaching? Nowhere else does He attach importance to any kind of ritual. It was the acts of obedience, self-effacement, humility, sincerity, passionate service for others, which He was ever demanding. St. Paul's silence is equally striking; and whatever be the extent of St. John's reference to the Eucharist in ch. vi, he passes over the rite altogether in ch. xiii, and instead relates the institution of another rite, that of the feet-washing. It is of course possible that our Lord's special teaching about the significance of the rite was lost by his hearers, and so does not appear elsewhere in the New Testament; but in view of the brevity and obscurity of the sayings, such an explanation is far from easy.

To recognize this is clearly no reason for neglecting the rite, like the Friends and the Salvationists. Indeed, we must thankfully acknowledge that the rite has been, all through the Christian centuries, a vehicle of an absorbing devotion, of a profound sense of fellowship with others, of a mysterious consciousness in which rapture and agony grow into one, and of the ever-deepening experience that Christ once died for us and we are alive in Him. But all this is only for those in whom the work of reconciliation is complete. We draw near with faith and take the holy sacrament to our comfort, and, in semi-dramatic fashion, we 'show forth' the Lord's death till He come. But the Supper is the means and not the end or the fulfilment. The work of Christ was and is to draw sinners to God, and our true fellowship with Christ will be in the sharing of such divine activity. We feed on Him in our

hearts by faith with thanksgiving, in order that, strengthened by that immortal food, we may do His works. To understand the sacrament in this light is not to belittle it. Instead of attaching to it an importance for which the greater part of the New Testament seems to find no place, we make it a means to the full activity of the risen life in Christ, to which the New Testament testifies on every page.

Two brief remarks may now be added. First, in a fine passage (p. 255 ff.), Dr. Taylor sums up our Lord's main convictions as to His passion as follows—it was the will of God; with that will He was in perfect harmony and oneness; His death was part of His Messianic vocation; it was connected with the Kingdom of God; it was a victorious struggle with evil; it was representative and vicarious; and men are to participate in His self-offering and to reproduce it. Dr. Taylor comments on the 'failure' of the Fourth Gospel to refer to most of these, especially with regard to the Kingdom, the Messiah, and the bread and the wine as a means for participating in His redemptive activity. But what is more essential to the whole view of the Atonement so forcibly expounded in this book than our Lord's perfect oneness with God, as the Son with the Father, and where is this stated more fully than in the Fourth Gospel? Dr. Taylor admits that the evidence for much of the above, as presented in the sayings, is 'fragmentary' (p. 255). It is continuous and co-ordinated in the Fourth Gospel. It is not too much to say that we could hardly have done justice to what is involved in the Synoptics, and in the argument of Dr. Taylor's book, without the Fourth Gospel. Dr. Taylor remarks that the Synoptics, greatly to the credit, he urges, of their historicity, do not emphasize the universal mission of our Lord; is it surprising that the Fourth Gospel should have omitted what might well have seemed to its readers the narrower nationalism of the teaching about the Kingdom and the Jewish Messiah? And even if the Fourth Gospel is also silent on certain aspects of the passion, the penal, the sacrificial, the vicarious, which can only be discovered in the Synoptics with difficulty, we are hardly justified in speaking of the 'limited range' of a Gospel in which we read that Jesus laid down His life for His friends, that for their sakes He consecrated Himself, and that if He were lifted up from the earth, He would draw all men to Himself.

Second, the danger that has menaced most interpretations of the death of Christ, has been, to put it curtly, that they should forget that atonement means reconciliation; that reconciliation is a matter between persons, and concerned with personal relations and not with individual payments or experiences; and that all our thinking about our Lord and His work must start from His unity with the Father, His 'divinity'. Against the more disastrous consequences of these mistakes Dr. Taylor gives us abundant and salutary warning. Sacrifice, whatever it is, is no external gift or present, as it was to the Jews, offered to make peace with God. Against the view that such a sacrifice could be accepted by God, the Prophets and many of the Psalmists make their long protest. But if we are rightly to understand Christ's mission to men as one of reconciliation between men and God, carried out by

Him in perfect obedience, we must keep to the complete oneness, in thought and purpose and will, between the Son and the Father. Can we do so? How could Christ, men ask, be one with the Father if it was His rôle to be completely obedient to the Father? Does not obedience imply subordination? We must think of the will of the Father and the Son alike as being bent on this reconciliation. Otherwise, we must surrender the *Nicenum*—'being of one substance with the Father'.¹

On the other hand, if reconciliation is the dominant end, punishment can only be considered, if it is inflicted at all, as a means to that end. Suffering is that which, as George Herbert quaintly expressed it, 'tosses' the sinner to the breast of God. To accomplish this reconciliation, the Son, like the Father, will stop short at nothing, even death upon a cross. But, in spite of the 'cry of dereliction', (p. 161), there could never have been a moment when the Son was not heard by the Father, still less deserted by Him. That unbroken unity with the Father, full of joyous confidence, which was fulfilled by the Son on earth, is the unity which He makes possible for those who believe on Him (John xvii. 22), and whatever be said about the silence of the Synoptics (p. 291), it is only by faith, by loving confidence in Jesus, that we can enter into the life without which obedience itself would be no more than serfdom.

We cannot build a complete theology of the reconciliation of man to God on a section of the New Testament. The references to the subject in the traditions embodied in the Synoptics, however pregnant and impressive, are inevitably fragmentary and occasional. The contribution of later experience, illuminated by the Holy Spirit which Christ promised to the disciples, is essential. It is one of the great services of Dr. Taylor that he has bidden us examine the sayings of our Lord with much more care than has often been devoted to them; but since confessedly they need elucidation, must we not, in the work of interpretation, consider the tenor of the whole thought of the first Christian generation as it has come down to us? To say this is not to be ungrateful for the valuable service which Dr. Taylor has rendered to the Church. The chorus of praise with which the book has been greeted is entirely deserved; and by his candour, his reverence, his exact and careful thinking, his determination to use all the data in the field which he has chosen to study, by everything in fact that we denote by the over-worked term 'scholarship', he has made us all his debtors.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE.

WILLIAM TYNDALE

SINCE Robert Demaus published his biography of Tyndale, in 1871, modern discoveries have thrown new light on the great translator, discoveries which amply vindicate the account of Tyndale in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. To both writers Mr. Mozley pays high tribute.

¹ 'Substance' is not here metaphysical necessarily; it refers, as we may say, to the stuff of which personal being is made.

But his own investigations deepened the conviction that Tyndale had never yet received his due. He therefore entered the field, and, in *William Tyndale*¹, he has produced a scholarly and illuminating book, perhaps the most authentic yet written on the subject.

William Tyndale, otherwise named Hutchins, sprang from a stock of yeoman-farmers in Gloucestershire. The family tradition tells of a certain Tyndale who came from the north, presumably from Tyndale, in Northumberland, during the wars of the Roses, that he changed his name to Hutchins for safety, married and settled in Gloucestershire, and towards the end of his life disclosed his real name to his children.

The time and place of Tyndale's birth are uncertain. Mr. Mozley thinks 1494 the most likely year, but notwithstanding the rival claims of North Nibley and Slymbridge, two Gloucestershire villages, he feels that the honour of Tyndale's birthplace must be left undecided. Though little is known of his boyhood, it may be assumed that Tyndale was alert, observant, studious. He himself offers but a solitary glimpse, which suggests a retentive memory.

Tyndale's earliest impressions of the state of the Church must have been disturbing. The observance of rites and ceremonies but emphasized the lack of the one thing needful. A remnant doubtless bore faithful witness, but unrest and indignation were rife at the ignorance and hypocrisy of the clergy and the dominance of priestcraft. And this was perhaps seen at its worst in Gloucestershire.

Tyndale was yet a boy when he went to Magdalen Hall, Oxford, to prepare for the arts course. The recent publication of Oxford university registers leaves no doubt about important events in his scholastic career. These show that William Hychins became bachelor of arts on July 4, 1512, and master of arts on July 2, 1515. The study of theology, reserved until after the master's degree, was formal and artificial, concerned mainly with isolated texts and their four-fold interpretation rather than with spiritual realities. And these texts were often the chief weapons of theological controversy. Then, too, fears were entertained by the authorities lest the study of Greek should threaten 'the supremacy of the holy Latin tongue'. But the seeds of rebellion had been sown before Colet returned from Italy with a burning zeal for the Greek New Testament. In his lectures on St. Paul's epistles, he concentrated on the historical background and spiritual import of the letters, and frankly urged his students to 'keep to the Bible and the Apostles' Creed; and let divines, if they like, dispute about the rest'. Among those who crowded to his lectures was Erasmus, who held that 'Theology, once venerable and full of majesty, has become almost dumb, poor and in rags'. These kindred spirits ultimately stimulated each other in fostering an intelligent study of the Bible.

When Colet left Oxford in 1505, the university was divided into hostile camps: the Grecians friendly to the New Learning, the Trojans holding fast to traditional ideas. Into this exhilarative atmosphere

¹ *William Tyndale*. By J. F. Mozley, M.A. (S.P.C.K. London, 12s. 6d. net.)

Tyndale entered. That he was familiar with their heated disputations is clear from his vivid account in his *Answer to More*. But that he took an active part is not known. It is probable he was but feeling his way; yet his keen mind would hardly escape the quickening of the new spirit.

Tyndale may have been ordained before he passed from Oxford to Cambridge—a centre more congenial to the liberal mind and where Erasmus taught from 1510 to 1514. Though he does not appear to have taken a degree in divinity, his scholarship had always a religious incentive. The divinity that shaped his destiny was a living, vital force. Foxe says that at Cambridge he 'further ripened his knowledge of God's word'; he also refers to Tyndale's 'spotless life and good repute', a tribute indirectly endorsed by his bitter opponent, Thomas More. Little is known of Tyndale's Cambridge friends. Latimer, Cranmer and Gardiner were in residence, though they had not yet joined the reforming movement. Robert Barnes and Coverdale, too, were there. And, towards the end of his term Tyndale may have met John Frith, who became 'his best-loved disciple'. It is not unlikely he would witness the triumphal visit of Wolsey to Cambridge in 1520, and, in the year following, the burning of Luther's books.

On leaving the university Tyndale returned to Gloucestershire where he became tutor to the children of Sir John Walsh, at Little Sodbury Manor—a modest, yet not uncongenial appointment for a student, with opportunities to preach. Here he met learned dignitaries of the Church, with whom he frequently talked across his master's table. Debates on points of Scripture, Luther, Erasmus, the New Learning, revealed Tyndale's frank and penetrating mind—often to the chagrin of learned divines. On such an occasion he flashed a prophetic spark in his famous declaration, 'If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the scripture than thou dost'. These words, an echo of Erasmus, signalized his life's work. He determined to translate the New Testament into English. But he must first obtain authority from a Bishop. This he sought in vain from Cuthbert Tonstall, Bishop of London. He therefore decided upon voluntary exile on the continent that he might fulfil his great purpose.

Tyndale sailed for Hamburg in the spring of 1524. He then visited Wittenberg, where he doubtless met Luther. He decided to print at Cologne but the enterprise was stopped. At Worms, early in 1526, he published his translation of the New Testament in English.

Various problems arise concerning this first edition; but Mr. Mozley scrutinizes every available clue and marshals his evidence to some purpose. He bids farewell to that 'faint and elusive phantom' of a Worms quarto: 'Tyndale only printed one New Testament at Worms, the octavo edition of which two copies remain; but being unwilling to lose his labour on the Cologne fragment, he decided to send this also to England, a little in advance of the complete book, as a herald of its coming.' The approach and the completion of Tyndale's great task is interpreted with rare insight: To meet the need of a Bible

in common speech meant that it must be done in defiance of authority and that the man to do it was William Tyndale. He set to work upon Erasmus' Greek text and employed as aids the Latin Vulgate, Erasmus' Latin translation and notes, accompanying his Greek text, and Luther's German translation. Apparently he worked without Wycliffe's Bible or Purvey's revision. While Mr. Mozley admits Tyndale's Greek scholarship may not have been equal to that of a modern professor, he claims it was not inferior to that of Erasmus or Luther. And he gives abundant examples of renderings which, though rejected by the Authorized Version, have been reinstated by the Revisers. He stoutly defends Tyndale from the charge of 'wilful mistranslation' as in the case of *ecclesia* or *church*, which Tyndale renders *congregation*; and nobly vindicates his claim that he 'never altered one syllable of God's word' against his conscience.

Meanwhile, in England, every effort was made to check the Reforming Movement. Copies of Tyndale's New Testament soon arrived and were cautiously circulated. But immediately it became known vigorous means were used to suppress its distribution. A second time booksellers were warned against importing Lutheran books, whether in Latin or English. Testaments were bought or seized and burned at Paul's Cross, and readers and sympathizers were arrested and imprisoned. Tyndale's reaction to the authorities is inspiring: 'In burning the New Testament they did none other thing than I looked for; no more shall they do, if they burn me also, if it be God's will it shall be so.' In *The Obedience of a Christian Man*—a controversial work in answer to the charge against the reformers, of teaching disobedience to princes and stirring up rebellion—he encourages the Bible reader not to despair but 'to read the word of thy soul's health'.

Tyndale never wavered in his determination to give his countrymen the Bible in their mother tongue. He now turned to the study of Hebrew that he might translate the Old Testament. To the gibe that our tongue is too rude, he replied, 'It is not so. Greek and Hebrew go more easily into English than into Latin. Has not God made the English tongue as well as others?' He again found three versions to aid him; Jerome's Vulgate, the German of Luther, and the Septuagint. His consecration to the work is seen in that, despite the lurking perils and uncertainties of exile, three parts were published during his lifetime: the Pentateuch (1530), Jonah (1531), and the passages read as epistles in the liturgy (1534). Though his knowledge of Hebrew was comparatively imperfect, Mr. Mozley says that in catching the genius of the language and mastering its idioms, he fully holds his own with his three competitors. A strong tradition assigns to Tyndale the version of Joshua to 2 Chronicles, included in the so-called Matthew's Bible (1537). Its trustworthiness appeals. Mr. Mozley discerns a close resemblance to the Pentateuch in that it 'bears all the marks of Tyndale's mind and style'. Here is a typical illustration from Judges iv. 15. But the Lord *trounced* (discomfited—A.V.) Sisera.

Tyndale had already published a bitter indictment of the Roman hierarchy in *Practice of Prelates* (1530), a work occasioned by the

problem of Henry's divorce of Catherine, which he condemned on religious and political grounds. An attempt to induce him to return to England and to advocate the king's cause but emphasized his intrinsic nobility. Tyndale's unconquerable hope of a free circulation of scripture was ever his supreme concern. Until this was assured he was determined to 'abide the asperity of all chances'.

The vain endeavour to stem the tide of Lutheran books lies behind one of the most famous literary battles in history—the controversy between Tyndale and Sir Thomas More, the brilliant author of *Utopia*. Though drawn into the fray by the Bishop of London, it is clear from his declaration that 'heretics be kept but for the fire, first here and after in hell', that More thoroughly endorsed the persecution and burning of Lutherans and rebels against the dominant Church. And Mr. Mozley justly insists that 'we cannot fairly judge the reformers, unless we see what they had to meet, what their dangers, what their sufferings, what the prospects of complete extermination by ruthless foes'. While More was preparing his *Dialogue*, directed against the pestilent sect of Luther and Tyndale, Tyndale's *Mammon and Obedience* arrived from Antwerp. Henceforth More concentrated his great abilities to confute Tyndale, the 'captain of our English heretics'.

More, the humanist, cuts an ironical figure in the guise of a 'meek follower' of Church authority. He deals with the cult of saints, the Bible and the nature of the Church, but shows comparatively little concern at the 'gross scandals' of the Church. Tyndale's *Answer* appeals to scripture as a test not only of doctrine but of practice. In his denunciation of the wickedness and formalism of the Church he demands that it shall be judged by its fruits. He calls for a 'deeper type of churchmanship' in which external ceremonies shall be observed 'in obedience to the spirit of the Christian man'. While More maintained that 'the order and ceremonies used at the mass have been handed down by word of mouth from the apostles, and are sacrosanct', Tyndale held that 'nothing ought to be considered to be of the essence of the Christian religion, unless it is found in the New Testament'. The Bible was the 'chief touchstone' by which to try the beliefs and practices of the day. And Mr. Mozley aptly points out that in no other sphere of history would a scholar refuse the appeal to the earliest documents. More claimed that scripture is committed to the pope or to the hierarchy, Tyndale, that it belongs to the whole body of Christian men, guided by the spirit of God. He held that the true Church of Christ is 'in the hearts of those men who are truly redeemed'. He denied this claim to the Church of his day since 'it had abandoned the teaching of the gospel, and disowned its Lord'. Mr. Mozley's discussion of the points at issue is a valuable presentation of a classic controversy.

As persecution gathered weight, martyrdoms increased. In 1530, Tyndale's friend and ally went to the stake at Maidstone. Bilney perished in the flames at Norwich, and Richard Bayfield and Tewkesbury at Smithfield in 1531. Among others martyred at Smithfield

was Tyndale's most intimate disciple, John Frith. To him Tyndale wrote: 'Your cause is Christ's gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. . . . Keep your conscience pure and undefiled.' On the continent Luther had barely escaped and Tyndale was frequently compelled to change the place of his abode. His sturdy independence had bitterly offended Henry, so that he was now the enemy of both the hierarchy and the king. A demand to surrender Tyndale was ignored because Henry had offended the emperor. A plot to kidnap him failed. A veil hangs over Tyndale's movements throughout 1532, though he could hardly have been far from Antwerp. Little indeed is known of his doings until shortly before the time he was 'pricked forth' to revise his New Testament (1534). For nine months prior to his arrest he found a congenial lodging with Thomas Poyntz. Happily a charming picture of his manner of life at this period has been preserved. On Saturdays and Mondays he ministered to the English refugees in Antwerp. The rest of the week he devoted to his writings with all the ardour of a dedicated spirit. When he learned that on December 19, 1534, the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury had begged the king to provide a new translation, he must have felt that he had not laboured altogether in vain. Though this did not mature, Coverdale's Bible was published on the continent in October, 1535, with the approval of Cromwell and with a dedication to the king. But on the eve of this great triumph Tyndale was betrayed by his enemies and imprisoned at Vilvorde.

A letter of dignity and grace upholds an apostolic tradition. He feels the need of his warmer clothes: his overcoat and shirts are worn out and he asks for cloth to patch his leggings, and a lamp in the evening. But, most urgently, he begs to be allowed his Hebrew Bible, Hebrew grammar, and Hebrew dictionary. Warmth and light in the winter, but most of all, his Hebrew books that, even in prison, the work to which he had dedicated his all might not be let or hindered! He was tried and condemned for heresy, and, sixteen months after his arrest, in October, 1536, he was tied to the stake, strangled, and his dead body burned. The year of his martyrdom witnessed the publication of the octavo edition of his New Testament, 'yet once agayne corrected'.

Tyndale's revised New Testament—with the addition of the epistles from the Old Testament and Apocrypha, appointed to be read in the Salisbury service-book—is considered his 'noblest monument'. He both amended the text and improved the style, as when he changed *senior* to *elder*, *health* to *salvation*, and *proselyte* to *convert*. More than a dozen copies of this second edition survive. Of these, the British Museum possesses three: one, with a faint inscription, *Anna Regina Angliae*, belonged to Anne Boleyn. The John Rylands Library possesses two fine copies.

Tyndale's style kindles enthusiasm. He deliberately set himself to avoid the 'stilted jargon' of a monotonous translation. His aim was to produce a book 'readily understandable, and readable'. In this he followed in the wake of Luther, whose homely and racy style captivated

his readers. Tyndale's versatility is seen in the variety of his renderings, his flair for 'an apt and telling phrase', and his matchless rhythm. He stands as a classic example of the power of leaning one's whole weight on the pen. His personality gleams on every page. It is significant of his enduring fame that ninety per cent of his work as it appears in the second edition, stands unaltered in our Authorized Version, and seventy-five per cent in the Revised.

Thoroughness is the hall-mark of Mr. Mozley's work. He deepens the sense of our immense indebtedness to Tyndale. The figure of the great translator rises, noble and impressive, in the pages of a great book.

B. AQUILA BARBER.

What Happened at Pentecost. By H. J. Wotherspoon, D.D.
(T. & T. Clark. 5s.)

The author, who died in 1930, was a revered parish minister of the Church of Scotland, who for the last twenty years of his life held the charge of St. Oswald's, Edinburgh. It was said that, as a teacher of teachers, he would have shone in any Divinity chair. Through his connexion with the Scottish Church Society for the maintenance of Catholic Faith and Order he became an authority on the Creeds, the Sacraments, and Worship. The present volume begins with a series of essays of which the main contention is that the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost differed from any previous manifestation, in that his specific work was to glorify the Redeemer and found the Church. The remainder of the book consists of a number of hitherto unpublished addresses. These discussions on such subjects as the Devotional Life, Christian Worship, and Prayer, if somewhat arid in style, reveal not only the care of the scholar, but also the mature thought of a deeply pious mind.

University Sermons. By A. C. Craig, M.C., M.A. (James Clarke & Co. 3s. 6d.)

The Chaplain to the University of Glasgow, A. C. Craig, M.C., M.A., has collected sixteen sermons preached to the youth of to-day. They are grouped under the three headings—repentance, faith and duty. They are clearly-phrased, free from outworn technical 'labels' and direct. For example, in considering the subject 'consecration of the Secular Life', Mr. Craig shows two possible roads along which the modern man may travel. The first, well-worn, is that of surrender to instinct. The road of consecrated living is a revealed road, leading somewhere because it does not wander everywhere. It is broad enough to include all sorts of men, and it is not blocked by death. The straightforwardness of these sermons must appeal to modern youth, and provoke readers to think through these problems from a new standpoint.

Ministers in Council

VILLAGE DAY SCHOOLS. To those who have been following the present-day Education question as created by certain action under the Education Act 1936, it will be interesting to note that the Kesteven County Council, Lincolnshire, at its meeting held at Grantham on February 16, after deputations from the Church of England and the Free Churches had addressed them, decided by a very substantial majority to give no grant towards the building of any new denominational senior school in any single school area. To the Rev. J. Davison Brown (Chairman of the Nottingham District), Mr. J. W. F. Hill, M.A., LL.M. (of the Congregational County Union), and the present writer fell the task of arguing the position on the grounds of religious equality and educational efficiency. Speeches and votes in the Council after the deputation had withdrawn showed that in Kesteven, as elsewhere, opposition to a monopoly denominational senior school in rural areas is shared by laymen of the Church of England as well as by members of the Free Churches. This local Authority took the line that where in any locality there would be no alternative school to which parents could send their children it was not fair to subsidize a denominational school.

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WHY EXTEND THE DUAL SYSTEM? It has also been discovered that many Anglicans are themselves loth to extend the dual system. A recent textbook on *The History of Elementary Education in England and Wales* points out the significant fact concerning the Church Assembly itself that in 1924 'it was no longer denied that the dual system led to embarrassment and was uneconomical. It prevented free grouping of schools, the enlargement or alteration of existing elementary schools where the managers had not the necessary funds, and interposed a bar to the free appointment and interchange of teachers'. Having occasion to quote this statement in an Education Committee some time ago I was impressed to hear a distinguished lay member of the Church of England say that he was present at the Church Assembly where that view was taken and that he still agreed with it.

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THE DIFFICULTY OF MAINTAINING VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS. Some members of the Established Church, recognizing how serious a handicap on education is imposed by the heavy burden of maintaining voluntary schools, have urged their leaders not to seek for denominational senior schools. Writing in the Church weekly, the *Guardian*, a while ago, a clergyman spoke strongly against any such building schemes. He stated: 'This policy involves the undertaking of an enormous additional burden in the face of a very serious depletion of finance.'

The Tithe Act has deprived the Church of a capital sum of £16,000,000, and the Royalties Bill means, as I read it, a further loss of £175,000 annually. At the same time enormous sums are required for the building of new churches and halls. And all this while there are numbers of clergy who are struggling to meet the most necessary demands of education for their children and even in many cases of adequate subsistence.' He concluded his letter by saying, 'It seems to me that if we launch out into a fresh and growing expenditure on building and ever afterwards having to maintain senior schools, the chance of our being able to meet the primary and elementary responsibility of the proper maintenance of our own clergy will recede more than ever into the background'. A striking commentary on that pronouncement are these sentences from a printed Appeal for the Bishop of Lincoln's Fund from which it was designed to help existing schools and build new senior schools: 'As for the Junior and Infant Church Schools, very few are at present efficient: lighting, heating and sanitation want attention. . . . It is calculated that to put these schools in order—nearly 300 of them—there will be needed £30,000.' And that is in one diocese alone. It is this proved difficulty in the past of worthily maintaining voluntary schools and the rightly feared difficulty of the maintenance of any new senior schools in the future that in a number of cases are deterring members of Local Education Authorities—whatever their denominational label—from wishing to have other than Council schools.

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'RESERVED TEACHERS.' A matter of much concern also to all interested in education is the freedom of appointment of teachers to day schools without denominational tests. No Local Education Authority is forced to give grants for the building of a denominational senior school. As in the case we have cited—and in other instances which might be given, the Local Education Authority has declined to entertain an application. But where the Authority does agree to a grant, then there at once arises the further very important question of what are known as 'Reserved Teachers', i.e. teachers to give denominational instruction. Under this name demands are being made to secure that the whole of the teachers, or at least the great majority of those on the staff, shall belong to the Church of England. Where such demands succeed, a sectarian barrier closes professional doors against capable teachers. At Grantham, for example, the claim was made for 100 per cent of teachers in Church of England new senior schools (for which public money to the extent of 75 per cent of the cost was to be used in the building). A strong protest has resulted in the matter being referred back for a substantial reduction in such denominational staffing.

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APPEALS PENDING. In several instances where decisions of the Local Education Authority would have deprived a community of a desired Council senior school, protests have succeeded in securing

a reversal. In other instances appeals to the Board of Education, London, are pending. At Chipping Sodbury in Gloucestershire the Revs. E. W. Bacon and J. C. Hearle with other Free Churchmen have put up a cogent case in the Press that has attracted wide attention. Readers may wish to furnish other examples from their own knowledge.

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METHODIST HISTORY IN OLD NEWSPAPERS. A reference in these columns to Methodist history has brought me a very kind letter from Mr. E. Horsfall of Savile Park, Halifax, enclosing a copy of the *Halifax Guardian* for February 2, 1850. It is not often that one handles a newspaper nearly ninety years old and so well preserved. This is an eight-page paper priced at 4½d. (or 5s. a quarter). Even a casual perusal throws strange light on the life of the day. Thus on the front page we find an Insurance Company telling its readers that only about 80,000 persons in the United Kingdom have taken advantage of life insurance, being one in sixty-two of the supposed number of heads of families, which it regards as a striking view of culpable selfishness. To clinch its claim for customers it calls attention to the distinction made between male and female lives! The proposed Great Exhibition of 1851 and discussions on the merits of Protection and Free Trade loom large. In Lincoln Castle at a meeting convened by the High Sheriff, but which the Earl of Yarborough refused to attend, a resolution was carried in favour of Protection, a Free Trade amendment being defeated. The local M.P. made a speech declaring the intended Exhibition to be a 'confounded humbug'! The paper, however, has evidently been kept all these years because of its lengthy report, extending over practically the whole of one page, of a meeting addressed by Dunn, Everett and Griffiths at the time when the agitation was rampant. The chairman at this meeting was Mr. Horsfall's grandfather. In happy contrast to those days is Mr. Horsfall's interest in the forthcoming bicentenary celebrations in May. His circuit is arranging a pageant which is to be given in one of the country chapels—where John Wesley preached . . . and slept.

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WHICH CATECHISM? To the Rev. W. B. Hoult, M.A., B.D., I am indebted for the loan of a volume which, under the title of *The Good Lord Wharton: His Family, Life and Bible Charity* (Congregational Union 1901), shows how a charitable trust may come through the years to be diverted from its original full intention. In 1894 the then vicar of Bradford, referring to Lord Wharton's Bible Charity from which he had been accustomed to receive a number of Bibles and other books, remarked, 'I presume no one will dispute that this is a distinctly Church of England Charity, for it requires the Catechism to be taught'. The comment was made in perfect good faith, for it obviously had not occurred to him that another Catechism than that contained in the Anglican Book of Common Prayer could be meant. Actually, however, the Charity originally was not an

Anglican one, nor was the Catechism referred to that of the Church of England. On the contrary, the Trust was a distinctively Nonconformist one and the Catechism was that of the Westminster Assembly, known as the Shorter Catechism and beginning with the celebrated question and answer: 'What is the chief end of man? Man's chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy him for ever.' Lord Wharton, the founder of the Charity, was an Independent, a personal friend of Oliver Cromwell, and had been a lay member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. He took an active part on the side of the Parliament in the Civil War. After the Restoration he was, and continued till his death in 1696 to be, a friend and patron of the Nonconformist ministers who were ejected from their benefices in consequence of the passing of the Act of Uniformity, and he assisted them in the holding of meetings for Nonconformist worship. Under the original Trust Deed of 1692 all the trustees were Nonconformists, and by a document of Instructions dated 1693, books to be given as prizes were those written by specified Nonconformists. Within a hundred years the Charity came to be regarded as exclusively Anglican, and when in 1895 Nonconformist ministers memorialized the Charity Commissioners, all the Trustees were, and had been, entirely Anglican, and Nonconformists were being debarred from the benefits of the Charity. By an Order of the Chancery Court in 1898 a scheme for the future regulation of the Charity was settled whereby out of nine trustees it was arranged that four should be Nonconformists and that out of the net income one half should go to Nonconformists for Bibles and any other religious books.

It is an extraordinary story, instructive in many ways. But so far as we are concerned, when we hear of a Catechism, do we think of only one Catechism? In our own Church and Sunday-School work, might we not now with advantage revive on a large scale the use of our own Methodist Catechism?

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I shall be glad to receive further reports and also comments on any subject suitable for these columns.

10 Mainwaring Road,
Lincoln.

W. E. FARNDALE.

Editorial Comments

JOHN WESLEY PRAYS.

The Bicentenary of John Wesley's conversion is to be celebrated on May 24 in most parts of the civilized world. The significance of that crisis in his spiritual experience is discussed at length in this issue, and it is obvious that the forces it released or harnessed are not yet spent. It is of vital importance, however, to realize that it is a spiritual experience and not the founding of a Church, which is to be commemorated. The date marks a birthday—one of the great birthdays in the history of the world.

So many different words have been suggested to define it—conversion, evangelical conversion, awakening, illumination, revelation, something tidal. There have been some who have sneered and counted it hysteria, the emotional product of fear. One recent writer has lamented: 'Not without a long, painful and devastating struggle did John Wesley succeed in subjugating a clear, brilliant mind, great faculties and profound gifts into that state of blind emotional credulity called faith.' Those last few words determine the value to be placed on the whole sentence.

Whatever view one may take, it is certain that Wesley, after May 24, 1738, was a man transformed. To his troubled heart there came deep peace. In his whole being there was strange new energy. Fifty years of amazing activity began. Fire ran through the stubble. Men felt the grace of God in England.—He had been conscientious and painstaking, a loyal priest; he became a flaming prophet. He had been a dutiful servant; he became a joyful son. As Mrs. Harrison so well says, 'Whatever men may make of conversion, however psychologists may explain the varieties of religious experience, something happened to John Wesley that night to transform him into a leader of men'.

So far we are on familiar ground. Most people have read the famous passage in the *Journal*: 'I felt my heart strangely warmed, I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death.'

Unfortunately the next two sentences are too often forgotten or overlooked, 'I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner despitely used me and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there what I now first felt in my heart'. That is the acid test. These sentences are linked inseparably to the better-known phrases. The warmed heart is not the description of a self-contained rapture. He could not contain the fire within his own breast. The little 'society' must know at once. He could not stay in that stifling room in Nettleton Court. He must carry the flame everywhere. The whole world must be his parish. The birthday was for everyone. There were moral obligations and ethical consequences. He felt the tremendous implications of this new, enduring joy. This is

authenticated by those eager, direct sentences. He must pray, not for himself now but for others. He must testify—this transfigured man! He begins in the dim little room near Aldersgate, and men heard him in the years to come on wind-swept heath and in the strange little 'preaching-places' he is forced to build. His witness reaches to parliaments and palaces, and generations then unborn have heard the echo of the thing that happened that day. Coal-miners and chimney-sweeps were happier, a hundred years later, because he went out from his seclusion into a world parish.

This celebration is not a domestic event to be limited within the boundaries of Methodism, wide as they have stretched. It has a far-reaching importance which, rightly grasped, might help to change the destiny of this distracted world.

It was a German who said: 'Prayer is the great bond of union of Christendom, and not only of Christendom, but of all mankind.' It was an Englishman who added: 'The Church is not divided in the chambers where good men pray.'

THE METHOD OF A METHODIST.

It has been readily assumed that Wesley was a dictator, and that by the exercise of dictatorial powers he directed the movement which spread so rapidly over the world. To accept this description of his method is to imply a strange definition of dictatorship. There was never in John Wesley any sense of blind self-sufficiency. He might use a power which, for a moment, was mistaken by those on whom it was exercised as the assumption of supreme authority, but for Wesley himself there was always the final reference. For him there was no ultimate authority but God—and God, he says again and again, is *our* Father.

Those who have portrayed him as a man consumed by the lust for power forget that he renounced the things he loved, that he might go out to preach to the rabble. The quietude of Lincoln College and the society of cultured men were sacrificed for the hostile crowd, whose need called him, and whose hearts he wooed not to a personal allegiance to him but to his Master.

His opportunities of leadership were not the result of egotistic and subtle planning. 'Everything arose as occasion required', he says, and history vindicates him. Churches were closed to his ministry; he must go into the open air to the field-preaching. Societies were formed; they must be housed. Property required maintenance; money must be found. The whole world must be co-ordinated and the little groups linked up. Constitutional problems occurred almost before there was a recognized constitution! Laymen must co-operate in spiritual and temporal affairs. A by-product of the war in America left great companies of people without any ordained clergy and an opportunity of joining in Holy Communion. He must seem to usurp the function of a bishop in ordaining his preachers in the colonies, but he only acted himself because the Bishop of London had refused to answer his appeal. He dare not hinder the growth of this living organism which he hesitates to call a Church.

'My wish was to live and die in retirement. But I did not see that I could refuse them my help and be guiltless before God. What then is my power? It is the power of admitting into, and excluding from, the Societies under my care; of choosing and removing leaders and stewards; of receiving or not receiving helpers; and of appointing them, when, where and how to help me.'—This may be a necessary and benevolent autocracy, but it is certainly not dictatorship. The people must keep the rules of the society which they have voluntarily joined, but he does not appropriate their freedom.—'I have no right nor power to dispose of the people contrary to their consciences.' . . . 'Several gentlemen are offended at my having so much power.—My answer is I did not seek it, but used it to the best of my judgement.—I always did, and do now, bear it as my burden, the burden which God lays upon me; but therefore I dare not yet lay it down.' Here, as always, the final reference is to God. If a modern dictator had known Wesley he would certainly have smiled at his struggle to co-ordinate his Conference of Preachers and 'the people called Methodists' to establish, not Methodism as such, but the Kingdom of God.

THE CENTENARY OF METHODISM, 1838.

In 1838 the Church which had been so strangely and unconsciously founded remembered its beginnings. On April 11 the account of what was unhesitatingly called 'Mr. Wesley's Conversion' was reprinted in *extenso* from the *Journal*. The document ended by saying: 'How many persons have been saved by his instrumentality, directly and indirectly, within the last century, the day of the Lord will declare. . . . In the present day more than a million of people, scattered over the four quarters of the globe, have adopted the discipline which he recommended to guard and foster the will of God; and perhaps five times that number attend the ministry which he was a means of providing, "*Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth*".'

Towards the end of 1838 there was a strong feeling that something should be done '*for the next generation*'. A Theological Institution must be built, and the training of the future ministry regularized. The old headquarters of the Missionary Society in Hatton Garden was inadequate; a new and worthy building must be erected. 'If it please God to select His workmen among us on the same principle as He has done more or less from the beginning, and we are to have a succession taken from the plough, or the loom, or the "sheepcote" or anywhere else, it is the duty of the Church to furnish its candidates for the ministry with every facility, as far as human instrumentality associated with a divine call can go, in order to make them suitably qualified—creditable and able ministers of the New Testament. . . . The second object proposed to us is Missionary Premises . . . I believe that, in our constitution and discipline, as well as in our doctrine, there is a peculiar adaptation for God to make use of us in evangelizing the world. . . . We cannot afford to stand out as almoners of the blessings of salvation to a lost world, without being ourselves a people eminently "*saved of the Lord*". A conviction of

this nature makes me anxious that this occasion should prove a means of grace to us.' Such was the essence of the speech made by James Heald, of Stockport, in the Committee held at Manchester on November 7, 1838. Its phraseology may be stilted to the reader of to-day, but its message is clear. A hundred years ago Methodism began to realize that it was not the greatest product of the Evangelical Revival. It was learning to look out over the great spaces, beyond the limits of a generation, to the winning of the world—not to a particular Christian communion, but to the boundless purposes of God.

As we pause on the threshold of another century, we remember a certain little band of sorrowful perplexed people, waiting behind bolted doors and those same people two months later, let loose in the streets of Jerusalem preaching the risen Christ, without fear or confusion. We remember another little group in Nettleton Court, and the sad-faced man transfigured, planning the conquest of the world for his Master. We remember, yet again, that group a hundred years ago, deciding to build a College and to organize afresh their effort to evangelize the nations. Wistfully they all prepared, and in unselfish preparation found a new awakening. In such a spirit the Christian Church to-day may rise from its despondency hour and cry the world is our parish. Christ is risen.

'THE UNVEILING.'

Not many books hold the flowers of beauty, truth and goodness within their covers, and hold them so generously and so winsomely that the wayfaring man may gather them at his will. In the quiet sincerity of Mr. Handley Jones' poems¹ we find—to quote his own lines—

Essential beauty loosed at last
From forms that held it prisoned fast . . .

Some of his work will be familiar to those who read *The Poetry Review* to which he has so often contributed. In this little collection he offers the flowers of his mind and the fragrance of his spirit. They are not rhyming verses, forced to obey strange laws of prosody; they are songs he heard in quiet places and brought back to us who live in noisy cities that we might hear the music we had missed. He sings to us of the seasons, and the transfigured world; he tells us of the deep stirrings and the anguish of the human spirit, and sometimes he leads us into the secret places of his own heart.

No one can read this book, and remain indebted to its author. Many, finding no other way to discharge their obligation, will join with him, as he prays,

Christ, grant me this—to teach with quiet words:
Take noise and striving from me, and the glare
Of jewelled language; let my speech be fair

And let me guide it, as a river herds
Its lowland water to the sea . . .

Such an offering we might well desire to make for the music of this book.

LESLIE F. CHURCH.

¹ *The Unveiling and Other Poems*. By W. S. Handley Jones. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d.)

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND COMPARATIVE RELIGION

Königtum Gottes. By Martin Buber. Second, enlarged edition. (Schocken Verlag, Berlin. RM.7.50; Leinw. RM.9.50.)

This is a very learned and, even for a German treatise, a very difficult book. The first edition was published in 1932, but since it was not then reviewed in this journal, it will not be out of place to give a summary of its contents. It is the first volume of a trilogy published under the general title *Das Kommende: Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte des messianischen Glaubens*, the purpose of which is to describe the origin and beginnings of biblical eschatology. The present edition contains its own foreword (pp. XXI-LXI), in which the author replies to his reviewers. The main body of the book contains eight chapters (186 pages), and is followed by notes and copious references (pp. 187-293). The chapters deal with (1) The words of Gideon in Judges viii. 22f., (2) The Book of Judges, (3) The conception of Divine Kingship in the Ancient East, (4) The West-Semitic Tribal God, (5) JHWH the King, (6) Israel's Faith, (7) The Covenant, and (8) The Theocracy. Buber rejects the generally accepted critical theory of the book of Judges, and proposes instead two books of the Judges, the first containing—with some considerable omissions—chapters i-xii, and the second chapters xvii-xxi. The first is hostile to, the second in favour of, an earthly monarchy. The first must date from the monarchical crisis in Samuel's time; the second is rather later, a counterblast to the first. When Gideon refused an offer of kingship, he was true to the main principle of the Sinai covenant, that YHWH alone was to be King over Israel. This assertion about the Sinai covenant is confirmed by the analogy of the covenant which David made with the elders of Hebron when they anointed him king (2 Samuel v. 3). Yahweh as King (*Melek*) is not an undifferentiated *numen* (*El*), nor yet a localized nature-god (*Baal*), but a tribal God, leader and *Führer* of His people, who owe to Him, and to Him alone, allegiance. What strikes the reader at once is the freedom—increasingly common in these days—with which Buber treats the constructions of the once dominant Wellhausen school. There is, however, this much to be said for the critical findings of Wellhausen: however much theories of religious development may have been built upon them, they were not in the first instance tendentious, but aimed at giving the best account of the facts as we have them in the Bible. Since Wellhausen—to quote from the monarchical Judges—there is no king in Israel; every man does that which is right in his own eyes! Is it right, we may ask, after leaving out of consideration some parts of

Judges i-xii, to see in what remains so many illustrations of hostility to earthly kingship as such? No doubt Adoni-Bezek, Eglon and the rest were kings; but that fact is hardly a leading *motif* in the stories that are told of them. When all is said, we get the impression of Gideon that, despite his reported refusal of a crown, like Caesar 'he would fain have had it', that indeed he was in some sort a king. Why, too, on Buber's theory, should the graceless Abimelech, the first Israelite to set up as a king, of all people be the first to bear the theophorous name 'Father (here = God) is King'? This is the more surprising since, according to Buber, the name was not given him by his father, but adopted by Abimelech himself. The question when the doctrine of the Kingship of Yahweh became prominent in Israel is hard to answer. Mowinkel carries it back to the early monarchy. Buber, as we see, would make it earlier still. It is, nevertheless, a striking fact that names embodying the conception of God as King are very few in the early days of Israel's history. Apart from Abimelech, Elimelech, Ahimelech, and Malchishua—Melchizedek hardly comes into the discussion, since the bearer of it was not a Hebrew—none is properly attested until the seventh century. The unambiguous Malchijah (= Yah is King) becomes popular in post-exilic times, and, according to Buchanan Gray, was first coined in the seventh century. This suggests that the conception of Yahweh's Kingship was not very strong in early Israel, but was rather, in any elaborate and polemical form, a late development. Jotham's parable was not so much an expression of high theocratic ideas, but of the traditional Bedouin dislike of centralized authority.

C. R. NORTH.

A Fresh Approach to the Psalms. By W. O. E. Oesterley, M.A., D.D., Litt.D. (Nicholson & Watson, International Library of Christian Knowledge. 8s. 6d.)

The scholar who finds time to bring his specialized knowledge to the help of the ordinary Bible student deserves our gratitude. What Dr. Oesterley did last year with the Gospel parables he has done now with the Psalms, and given us another book at once authoritative and popular, erudite and readable. His aim, he tells us, was to make it 'of interest and use to many who are not experts', and this he has undoubtedly done. To the great convenience of the reader, his arguments are illustrated not merely by references but by ample quotation from the Psalms themselves; and his conclusions are often reinforced by telling quotation from other scholars. There is a short bibliography but no general index: its absence is partly compensated for by a somewhat detailed Table of Contents. A typical psalm stands in relation at once to history, poetry, music, liturgy, theology, prophecy and prayer. The 'freshness' which Professor Oesterley claims for his approach consists in dealing with all these in less than 300 pages. Nothing relevant to an intelligent grasp of the Psalms is passed over. For instance, he does not begin to discuss the music of Israel without first making the reader acquainted with its use among Semitic peoples

generally; his discussion of the liturgical use of the psalms includes a section telling us all we need to know about the origin of the synagogue; and belief in Sheol is explained by reference to Babylonian parallels. Rapid treatment of so many themes cannot be exhaustive, but it will be full enough for very many readers and is always both clear and stimulating. Dr. Oesterley presents convincingly, with quotations, the case against arbitrary modern tendencies to regard all the psalms as post-exilic. He 'sometimes wonders what the point is in wishing all the psalms to belong to a late date' (p. 46). Attempts to connect the psalmist's King with the Maccabean period are disposed of, and the latest psalms attributed to the early Greek period. From higher criticism we turn to music, poetry and worship. One suggestive remark may be quoted here: 'There is', Dr. Oesterley writes, 'no question here of distinguishing between secular and sacred music; for music, as such, recognizes no distinction.' He gives us a fascinating account of the music of Israel and the Ancient East, and offers some explanation of all the psalmists' musical terms and directions. In discussing poetry, the author is concerned chiefly with the formal contrasts afforded by a study of parallelism, rhythm and metre; though he would, we suppose, admit that the fundamental resemblance of poetical expression in Hebrew and English is in the end far more important than its differences. Liturgically our debt to the Synagogue, as that of the Synagogue to the Temple, is fully brought out. But Professor Oesterley never allows a theory to run away with him. Thus the collected psalms may well have constituted the praise-book of the second Temple, but all psalms are not therefore purely liturgical: the 'I' is in many instances individual, and that long before the teaching of Jeremiah. In all this we are never allowed to lose sight of abiding religious values. 'Messianic' passages are dealt with seriatim—Psalm cx at some length; an interesting and partially new interpretation is offered of Psalm cxviii. 22f. The last four chapters deal with beliefs: the doctrine of God, Sin and Retribution, the Hereafter, Angels and Demons. Dr. Oesterley sees in some half-dozen psalms the beginnings of a genuine belief in Immortality; his sympathetic interpretation of a famous passage in Psalm cxxxix will commend itself to many. These chapters form perhaps the most generally valuable part of a book which to any serious student of the Psalms, however slenderly equipped, must prove to be an almost indispensable aid.

A. S. GREGORY.

Time Cause and Eternity. By J. L. Stocks. (Macmillan. 6s.)

The death of Professor Stocks removed from our midst a philosopher of marked ability alike in mind and character. This posthumous book is a further reminder of the extent of the loss philosophy suffers. It opens with a review of Greek ideas regarding time and cause, and passes to the modern view as represented in natural science and in history. The third part is constructive. Professor Stocks was never a writer of popularized philosophy, but, considering the technical

nature of his subject in this book, he is singularly clear and unambiguous in his exposition. The argument, closely reasoned and forcibly expressed, that the temporal order presupposes an eternal order, indicates an eternal in causal relation with the temporal. It breathes the spirit of Platonism at its best. The book is too short to answer all the questions one would like to ask, but as far as the argument is taken, it represents as clear and cogent a piece of reasoning as anyone can desire. Although not specifically set forth as a contribution to Theism, it forms a striking justification for the Theistic conceptions of both cause and eternity. Not the least valuable part of the book is its references to kindred conceptions; for example, its sympathetic exposition of Professor Bury's idea of progress, and the speculations of Mr. J. W. Dunne regarding time. In the latter case, however, Professor Stocks, whilst welcoming Mr. Dunne's ideas as of kindred nature to those he expounds, seems, like the rest of us, to find it by no means easy to comprehend all Mr. Dunne's paradoxes. There is, however, no doubt that this book in height of conception, breadth of thought, and depth of insight is a worthy memorial of a high-minded thinker.

E. S. W.

Children of God. By Harold Beales, M.A. (Epworth Press. 2s.)

The question is frequently discussed to-day by the inner circles of the Church as to whether the Gospel according to Methodism is being preached from Methodist pulpits with the directness and conviction of former times or indeed at all. No one knows. No one can know. The most ubiquitous of Anniversary Preachers or Methodist business men, who travel the whole land can only touch a small percentage of our congregations, and even then their information must for the most part, be second-hand. Loyalty to sacred vows is no evidence. For during the past fifty years the great truths which lie behind this witness have been attacked with arguments from science, philosophy and history and now still more searchingly by Totalitarianism, Communist and Fascist. Many have felt that the best service they could render the witness is a direct answer to these attacks. A feeling is growing, however, that the witness itself and the living experience for which it stands is its own best defence. There is the more significance, therefore, that a number of volumes and pamphlets have begun to be published which attempt to state in terms of modern life and thought the truths set forth in Wesley's Standard Sermons. Of those we have been privileged to read none are more effective than the volume just issued by the Epworth Press *Children of God*, by the Rev W. H. Beales, M.A. The book is intended to be the first of three Manuals dealing with the theme expressed in two sentences—'It's a marvellous thing to become a Christian' and 'It's an even more marvellous thing to grow up in Christ'. The titles of the chapters are 'Conversion', 'Free Forgiveness', 'Rebirth', and 'Adoption', with two excellent additional notes, 'For Agnostics Only', and 'For John Smith who feels no need of God'. We suspect that the substance of

these chapters has been given in addresses which Mr. Beales has been delivering throughout the country in connexion with the 'Development of Fellowship Movement'. They, therefore, have the advantage of being the product not merely of wide reading and of earnest thought but of living touch with men and women, and especially the young men and women of our time. Some may be inclined to criticize a detail here and there. Old-fashioned theologians may feel that, with however high authority, the sweeping away of the 'law-court' element in the Atonement does not do justice to the 'law-court' element in conscience itself, which is receiving new emphasis to-day. No one, however, can question the impressiveness of the illustrations and evidence Mr. Beales produces as to the effect of love and the recovery of self-respect amongst those that have lapsed into crime and degradation. Some are very suspicious of the use of psychology in the interpretation of religious experiences, but Mr. Beales uses his expert knowledge in this matter unobtrusively and most convincingly. Each chapter is followed by a series of questions which bring home a challenge to the heart of every reader. To-day, a new form of evangelism has been found essential and, whether by individuals or by groups and fellowships in our churches or by ministers and local preachers and Sunday-school teachers this volume will be found most helpful. We venture to prophesy that those who use this first of the series of manuals will desire to obtain the rest.

E. ALDOME FRENCH.

Indian and Western Philosophy. By Betty Heimann. (George Allen & Unwin. 5s.)

Dr. Heimann has now issued in permanent form her series of lectures on the comparative study of Indian and Western philosophical ideas. The theme of the book is the contrast between the Indian philosophical attitude to the main problems of thought and that of Western Philosophy. The comparative studies concern ontology, eschatology, ethics, logic, aesthetics and science. The book concludes with a discussion on the apparent rapprochement between East and West. Climatically and geographically India was predestined for the full development of cosmic speculation. Man is a part and no more than a part, of a mighty whole. In the West, man is the measure of all things and the master of the whole. Thus India offers to the West an opportunity of learning by contrast. The unchanging East and the ever-changing West present fascinating opposites. The temperate zone of Europe provides conditions that can, and must be dominated by man's skill and intellect. Both East and West are consistent in their opposite attitudes, and both must realize the possibility and the wisdom of the other's viewpoint.

The Western anthropology is set over against the Indian cosmology. The Occident, with its ever-changing outlook and steady progress, is matched by the Orient's radiation and emanation. We of the West consider problems, but they regard life as a static entity in which

actual objects are passing away. India, by reason of her geographical conditions, affords an example of uninterrupted cosmic tradition. Each invader through the centuries has been subject to the dominating influence of India's natural conditions. The West has centred on the exact sciences, the East on metaphysics. In the light of these contrasts the author proceeds to the consideration of the various subjects enumerated above, in their contrasting relations to each other in East and West. This is a book for steady, applied reading which, when once mastered by the Western mind, will make many things comprehensible which to the uninstructed seem contradictory.

The Roots of Religion in the Human Soul. By Dr. John Baillie, Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. (The Challenge Series—James Clarke & Co. 1s.)

Anything from the pen of Dr. Baillie is worth reading, and the present cheap reprint is no exception. The five lectures were given in 1925 to a Conference of Ministers and Religious Workers in New York. It is significant that a book dealing with the religious outlook produced by the War should still have value. But, as the author says in a preface to this second edition, though we have learned much since, 'the years of the War had their own lessons to teach us'. Have we learned them? Even if we have, we cannot be reminded of them too frequently; for we still live in a world where they need to be put into practice. The War's influence on religion was in the nature of a challenge to its reality and value. It raised questions that are continually cropping up for the thoughtful mind,—but it raised them in a more acute way. It emphasized also the need for a new approach and a new appeal. Professor Baillie's treatment of the issues involved is frank and illuminating; neither too technical, nor yet simply popular. The un-theologically minded can follow it, if he will. The book is based on evidence obtained from the army during the War by means of questionnaires, and embodied in such reports as 'The Army and Religion'. A wealth of kindred literature, including 'As Tommy Sees Us', 'The Church in the Furnace', and 'A Student in Arms', is also made use of. The value of this evidence has long been recognized. It reveals the widespread existence of an inarticulate, creedless religion—'a simple-hearted faith in the rightness of doing the right thing'—which, if not Christianity, contains elements that find fulfilment there. That is the contention of this book. And the problem before the Church is so to present Christianity that it may be seen to be but the heightening of values already recognized and accepted—'the very stuff of our most real life'. After dealing with and rejecting certain misunderstandings as to the nature of religion—arising from the two extremes of rationalism and romanticism—Dr. Baillie enunciates his view of religion as being 'a confidence in the reality of goodness and the goodness of reality'. This brings, he says, to the true-hearted a 'sense of being at home in the Universe', and 'is the beginning of what is meant by "Communion with God".'

And 'the gist of Christianity', according to Dr. Baillie, is just that 'at the centre of the Universe there is That which is more like a father's loving heart than like anything else we know'. This gives a view of things, in which ethical values correspond with ultimate reality, and the will to do, when prompted by ideals, is a signpost on the road to truth. ('He that willeth to do shall know.') Dr. Baillie is a true Ritschlian, for he holds that religion arises out of our consciousness of value. 'The result of inquiry'—so he sums up—is a recovery of the glad assurance that Christianity, when properly understood, is an outlook on life which is never very far away from the mind and the mood of all true-hearted workers. . . . I, at least, should take it as axiomatic that the only faith which can be required of us, and the only faith which it is in any wise blameworthy not to possess, is the faith that is born of dutiful devotion to our appointed task and an unwavering loyalty to our highest values.' *Solvitur ambulando!* The book is a stimulating apologia that should bring help to many.

A. J. D. LLEWELLYN.

A Priest for Ever: A Study of the Epistle entitled 'To the Hebrews'. By J. P. Alexander. (James Clarke & Co. 6s.)

The Bruce Lectures were delivered by the author at Trinity College, Glasgow, in 1933, and are now happily made available for a wider audience. For we have here an exposition of Hebrews that is both scholarly and devotional, and that cannot fail to enrich the mind and heart of all who read it. The style is easy and clear. The art of repetition is skilfully used to link up the separate topics into a connected whole. The result is that the message of the Epistle lives again, relevant still; its 'distinctive ideas knit together in a grand poetic unity and consistency'. No one will be able to read this volume without a thrill of admiration at the masterly handling of a great subject. It is what every commentary should be, convincing, lucid and sincere. Principal W. M. Macgregor, in a brief Foreword already quoted, speaks of the author's 'mastery of the relevant literature, his sturdy independence in estimating the opinions of his predecessors in the field, and his full consideration of the problems raised by the epistle'. These qualities reveal themselves throughout. The pastoral character of the Epistle, perhaps, accounts for its special attraction to a minister in a small country town. The study he has produced comes of long meditation and penetrating insight. Of the nine chapters in the book, four constitute the Bruce Lectures—'The World to Come'; 'Our Lord Jesus'; 'A Priest for Ever'; and 'Seeing Him who is Invisible'. The Epistle is described by its writer as 'a word of exhortation' (xiii. 22). It is, that is to say, 'not a treatise, a fully-rounded exposition of Christian truth', but 'an *appeal* for a higher style of Christian life and thought'—'a document called forth by an emergency, written from a special point of view, and addressed to a very definite audience'.

Though 'the influence of Philo is clearly marked', the author 'is no Philonist'; nor Paulinist either. 'Primarily he is a *Preacher*, rather than a philosopher or theologian.' '*Pastor* as much as preacher,' his epistle appropriately closes with a shepherd's prayer. His name? There are many guesses, but no certainty. The man, however, is revealed in his writing—'a Primitive with a touch of modernism; a brave leader; a sound Churchman, not too high; . . . above all, a great-hearted lover of Jesus'. 'What use, then,' asks Mr. Alexander, 'in hunting old trails for the sake of a name?' After weighing the internal and external evidence, he concludes that the Epistle was written from Ephesus to Rome, about the year A.D. 85, 'when the severities under Domitian were beginning to be felt'. 'The outstanding feature of the epistle is its presentation of the Person of Christ.' The threatened apostasy in the little community called forth an impassioned plea for a recentring of faith round Him. Two chapters of Mr. Alexander's book deal with the framework of ideas, both philosophical and religious, in which that presentation is set. Then, in four chapters, the portrait itself is drawn, with great and moving eloquence that never once loses touch with the exactitudes of true interpretation. In Himself the Son of God, revealing in His obedience the purpose and will of God, Jesus is both Lord in the World to Come (which is what Hebrews means by Reality), and Head over God's House (the eternal community of the loyal). But central to the thought of Hebrews is the Priesthood of Jesus. This is the writer's distinctive contribution to Christian doctrine. True, 'priesthood is a metaphor', and must not therefore be pushed to extremes. Yet 'the last and greatest word of Christianity is not Victory, but Reconciliation—a priestly word and a priestly task'. And while 'priesthood cannot be made to cover the whole of Christ's life and work, at least it takes us to the heart of it'; and, as Mr. Alexander truly adds, 'we all come to it in our worship'. Hebrews' conception of faith is radically different from that of Paul, and Mr. Alexander's exposition of the classical Eleventh Chapter is finely done, especially the way in which he shows Jesus as the *Pioneer of Faith*—its discoverer, as well as the supreme example of it. 'This emphasis upon the faith of Jesus is a new and welcome note, and Hebrews stands alone in the New Testament in describing Jesus as the great protagonist of faith.' 'The "faith" of Hebrews runs out into a very noble Christian Idealism.' Full of good things, at times brilliant in phrasing, always clear and convincing in exposition, this is a book to be read and studied. One reader, at least, has found it enthralling. Principal Macgregor truly says: 'It would be good for the life of the Church if this epistle were more familiarly known, and for this reason a welcome should be given to so patient and sincere an effort as this of Mr. Alexander's to reveal its treasures.'

The Distinctive Elements in Christianity. By Karl Holl.
(T. & T. Clark. 2s.)

This book is the first translation, in English, of the work of Professor Holl. The translator has appended, much to our advantage, additional notes to those made by the author, the most valuable being a brief account of the life and work of Professor Holl. This German writer is indispensable to all who would ponder Christian thought and practice. The first chapter defines the place of Christianity in the oriental religions, and is of importance in these days of uncertainty. The power of a religion never lies in what it has in common with others, but in what is peculiar to itself. The distinctive elements in Christianity lie in Jesus' conception of God. Man's redemption is not based in man's nobility but in God's grace to fallen sinners. This teaching contrasts with that of Judaism and Hellenism. The forgiven sinner goes forth spontaneously to forgive. These contrasts prove the historicity of Jesus and the veracity of our records. Professor Holl goes on to ask, 'Is St. Paul the creator of Christian syncretism?' When we understand Paul as he understood himself, we find that he saved Christianity from being submerged in Hellenism, for our faith is something basically different. The final chapter deals with the paradox of Christianity. The reception of ideas from other religions has always debased its pure teaching, but this has been recovered by reformations and a return to the miracle of miracles—Christ himself. The translator (Rev. N. V. Hope) has done his work so well that one might think the book had been written originally in English.

J. H. M.

The Absolute Collective. By Erich Gutkind. Translated by Marjorie Gabain. (C. W. Daniel & Co. 6s.)

The translator's preface tells us the author treats his theme with the lucidity of a trained philosopher. Those who are acquainted with the trained philosophers will know what to expect, and will not be disappointed. But there are many more dogmatic statements than trained philosophers favour. Here are a few examples: 'Christian psychology and spirituality are really the source of atheism.' 'Religion makes God harmless.' 'The path along which the ancient magical religions developed into Christianity leads inevitably on to bourgeois civilization and thence to the proletariat.' The author is apparently a Jew who believes that the monotheism of ancient Israel, which is what he apparently is trying to re-state in this book, alone can save humanity from the collapse that threatens it. 'The Absolute Collective' is 'The People', that is the gathering together of all things from the stars to the human race in God. Taken as a whole, the book seems one part Hebrew religion, two parts philosophical mysticism, one part Kabbala. There is a certain grandiosity of style that suits the type of pronouncement which the author gives freely. But there is a lack of inductive methods of proving the positions set forth. The following passage is typical of the book, 'Myth and magic are liquidated into machinery

and science. The myth-bound man is always afraid; he dares not cut his navel cord. He dwells in childish serenity amongst archaic thoughts. He is dumb. He cannot be objective. He has never come out of "Egypt". He remains a slave. But the slave is also a tyrant. The tyrant is afraid. The tyrant kills'. If anyone likes that type of writing, with its references to fearful man dwelling in childish serenity, and similar paradoxes, he will like the book. Others will prefer something more objective and less fanciful.

E.S.W.

The Church and the Churches. By Karl Barth. (James Clarke & Co. 1s.)

The eminent German theologian points out the damage, perplexity and menace occasioned to the Church of Christ by the Christian Churches owing to their diversity of statement and their mutual exclusiveness. The differences which exist are of minor importance to the major task of proclaiming salvation. The manifold spiritual gifts of members do not necessitate independent Churches. They should become one great and many-sided ministry. The unity of the Church lies not in uniformity, but in Him who is the Lord of the Church. To find Christ is to discover unity. The multiplicity of the Churches is foreign to the New Testament, and is never justified by vague references to the one invisible Church. Sects are not revelations of the wealth of Grace so much as the perpetuation of our own notions. We live our life within the divisions of the Church when we ought to dwell in the grace which transcends them. Bluntly stated, Barth regards the multiplicity which ends in mutual recrimination and contradiction as sin. Our present affirmations of unity do not remove our trouble. The union of the Churches is a mandate from Him whose purpose is unity. The growth of the idea of mutual civility and tolerance has often emphasized denominational self-consciousness. The union we need is a single confession of our faith unitedly proclaimed to the world. Such an action must be the issue of an enhanced faith, void of secular motives or compromise, and marked by a sense of guilt for division. Such unity will only come as we listen to Christ rather than to sectarian or secular voices. Thus would the Church come within the Churches. Let us beware of that profession of charity which has not courage enough to inquire with serious honesty about the truth. This is indeed a challenging book and the issue raised must not be evaded.

J.H.M.

Lectures on the Bhavavad Gita. By D. S. Sarma, M.A. (Luzac. 3s.)

This book is an admirable exposition by a Hindu professor of the great religious epic poem of India, together with an English translation of the Gita itself. The standpoint is expository, indeed devotional rather than critical. It claims that the teaching of the Gita is that man should remain in the world but without any attachment to it,

and work there as a servant of God for the welfare of mankind and his own soul. The Gita is not a long poem. It preaches the way of knowledge, devotion and action. To the European its merits are somewhat concealed by its oriental style, repetitions, and obscurities, but here and there is revealed something of the quality that made Gandhi declare that it is his Bible and Quran, his mother who takes the place of his earthly mother. It summarizes in its 700 verses the essence of the teaching of the Vedas. But, like other Scriptures, it has its warlike setting and we read that the God bade the hero 'Fearlessly kill Drona and Bhishma, Jayadratha and Karna, and other great warriors as well, who have been doomed by me. Fight and thou shalt conquer thy foes in battle'. Mr. Gandhi evidently did not gain his doctrine of non-violence from that verse. The true pacifist doctrine is in the poem. Arjuna, the hero, drawn up for battle against his kinsfolk, repents, but the God bids him fight. When Arjuna says, 'Far better would it be for me if the sons of Dhritarashtra, weapons in hand, should slay me in the battle, while I remain unresisting and unarmed', he is rebuked for his pusillanimity, 'Whence has this loathsome feeling come upon thee, O Arjuna, in the crisis? It is ignoble, it is disgraceful, it debars thee from heaven.' The Gita contains many noble words, but what a chance it lost of being the world's classic of Pacifism!

E. S. W.

To Become or Not to Become (That is the Question). By Mrs. Rhys Davids, D.Litt. (Luzac & Co. 1s. 9d. Cloth 2s. 6d.)

Mrs. Rhys Davids here takes up a fresh cudgel on behalf of the right translation of words from the Indian stem *Bhu*. She says truly that all translations from the Pali tongue, the tongue of the original Buddhist documents, are still in their early stages, and that the translators, amongst whom she includes herself in her earlier work, have been led astray by Western idiom and Western ways of thought. She is convinced that the original texts meant to convey that man was not static but progressive, not in a state of being but of becoming. Mrs. Rhys Davids bases her case primarily upon the Indian religious outlook of Gautama's day, and consequently upon the need to read words from this *Bhu* stem in terms of becoming, not of being. She makes skilful use of Asoka's edicts, which certainly do not deal with Nirvana, or enlightenment, or the woes of life, but with practical precepts to people to become better, as the Dharma bade them. This, Mrs. Rhys Davids is certain, is the aim of the original teaching, not the monkish interpretation which is now current as original Buddhism. Only those who know Pali and other Indian tongues, can fully appreciate the grammatical side of the argument in this little book, but all students of Indian religion can grasp something of the background of the Buddhist movement, and there is nothing in it to favour the traditional interpretations. It is to be hoped that Mrs. Rhys Davids' patient persistence in refusing to let the matter slide will at length succeed in forcing the recognition of her point that the

original documents picture man, self, soul, call it what you will, in the process of becoming, reaching to something he is not yet. One can at least understand the appeal of such teaching. Had it remained Buddhism might have also remained as one of India's great faiths. But it was lost, and Indian Buddhism with it.

E. S. W.

The Qur'an. Translated with a critical rearrangement of the Surahs, Vol. I. Surahs I-XXIV. By Richd. Bell, B.D., D.D., Lecturer in Arabic at Edinburgh University. (T. & T. Clark. 12s. 6d. net.)

Muir wrote of the Qur'an, 'There is probably in the world no other work which has remained twelve centuries with so pure a text'. This assumed that the Qur'an we have to-day is precisely as first recited by Muhammad. On the contrary, Goldziher says, 'There is no canonical book recognized by any religious community as a revealed and inspired original, the text of which exhibits to us so great a degree of change and uncertainty as found in the text of the Qur'an'. Early Muslim tradition records successive efforts to preserve a uniform recitation of the sacred book, and Al Zuhri says, 'The Prophet was taken and not a bit of the Qur'an was in writing'. Professor Bell, in this book, strikes a new line, and asserts that the Qur'an was being written and rewritten by Muhammad up to his death. We should be glad to know the grounds for the rejection of the material external evidence which conflicts with this hypothesis. The author attempts to reconstruct the successive stages of this hypothetical writing and revision. We regret that we feel, as the writer foresaw, that the reconstruction is arbitrary. If we had the notes which present the arguments for it, it might be different. These notes, with bare references to the Surahs and verses, instead of a fully printed text, would have enhanced the value of Professor Bell's work. We hope this great labour of twelve years, by the addition of these notes, may yet add a notable chapter to our knowledge of the growth and compilation of the Qur'an. Meanwhile we are thankful for a clear translation and a challenge to research.

J. W. SWEETMAN.

The Church Victorious. By Bishop Crotty, D.D. (Longmans Green & Co. 2s. 6d.).

This is a book suitable for Lent reading, the last of the series arranged by the Bishop of London, and well worthy to rank with those previously issued. This is the book of an optimist who is not unmindful of the serious problems with which the Church is faced at the present time. Throughout the book there is the note of confidence. 'The new order that the Church to-day is needing above all others, is an order of encouragers, sustaining the faithful laity in their sometimes tired, and frightened, and defeatist mood.' Bishop Crotty is able to look at the problems before us from the point of view of his long experience in Australia, where the difficulties, though different, are

not less pressing. Only as the Church remains missionary, united and teaching will she accomplish her divine task. He points out that the victorious Church is the one that succeeds in making possible the 'victory of God in the life and heart of man, and, through him in the motives and structure of his society and world'.

A. R. SLATER.

The Man Who Got There. By E. D. Bebb, M.A., Ph.D. (Epworth Press. 3s. 6d.)

Dr. Bebb has written a life of Paul with the intriguing title 'The Man Who Got There'. The volume is scholarly in style, popular in appeal and modern in outlook. The man Paul is the prototype of all seeking and adventurous but unsatisfied souls. Herein Paul is portrayed not as the vigorous theologian but as the man whose words reflect his experience and whose messages are as much for us as they have been for all who have preceded us in the Christian faith. The sequence of these studies reveals the marks of the dedicated life. For those who have to lead study circles this book has supreme value. The titles of the chapters are full of suggestion. Paul was the man who wondered where to begin, who made a great discovery and met his Master. Thus he became bold, ready and informed, and progressed till all things were possible in a glad, satisfying achievement. The book deserves a place on the preacher's desk as well as on his shelves.

The Gospels in the Making. By Alan Richardson. (S.C.M. Press. 5s.)

This introduction to the recent criticism of the Synoptic Gospels is a worthy effort to survey the new light thrown on their composition and standpoint. It is an interesting and readable book for the man who has little previous knowledge of the problems involved. The author hopes that it will also appeal to students as a balanced conspectus of the situation. A century of intensive study of the Gospels has established certain definite propositions of composition and authorship with which scholars are in general agreement. Behind the written Gospels there was a period of oral tradition in which the Story would be preserved in the memory of the apostles and the early Church. Writing was secondary to the spoken word and was an art practised by few. Besides this the first Christians expected the early return of Christ, and so records would be deemed superfluous. This oral period is of great importance, though as evidence it is inferential. As the Church needed sermon material, guidance and arguments, the body of the Gospels would be selected, adapted and developed. The result was not a biography but a theology. The author sheds much light on the construction and purpose of the Gospels, and shows that the older part of the written story was the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus. Working backward, the Resurrection was first preached, then the Passion and finally the ministry of Jesus. In this connexion he traces the Marcan outline. The form, content,

authority and reliability are surveyed as they have been shaped into the literature. The short stories were welded into a record and adorned with the miracle stories as mediums of teaching. The stories about Jesus and His sayings complete the record. Special consideration is given to the sayings in which Christ uses the first person singular in an exalted sense. Certain it is that many of the words recorded are *ipsissima verba* of the Master. The teaching of Jesus is the next concern of the author, who shows that the teaching of the Kingdom agrees with the Jewish eschatological expectation. To Christ it was a present reality which the Church interpreted as a Second Coming. The book concludes with an attempt to relate the criticism of the Gospel record to intelligent and living faith in Jesus Christ which is beyond criticism. Indexes of texts, names and subjects are valuable additions to this thoughtful, welcome and effective book.

The Road that was Made. By L. Firman-Edwards, B.A., M.D. (James Clarke & Co. 5s.).

A book dealing with religious problems by a layman may be expected to give a line of argument on unusual lines. This 'study in reality' is 'an appeal to intellectual men and women to get back to the fundamentals without which all human activities are bound to prove abortive, and to consider whether certain ideals which have come to be looked on as old-fashioned have because of that fact necessarily lost their importance'. The discussion centres round the figure of a 'road', and in the first section he deals with the building of the road. These first chapters are not easy reading, but the writer has to clear the ground for his later section on 'The road that was made'. His point of view is that the world of experience starts with the axiom of the reality of consciousness, and the material world is considered as a phenomenon. 'Our standard of reality is ourselves.' Man is in the position of a rebel, and he must be brought back to the true road. In the second half of the book the writer sketches the way in which Christ has provided this road by following which civilization can alone be redeemed.

A. R. SLATER.

God, Man and the Church. By Vladimir Solovyev. (James Clarke & Co. 5s. net.)

This Russian author will be new to most readers in this country. A preface says that 'All the exponents of modern Russian Theology have been brought up on him'. He was a professor in the university of Moscow, but because of his outspoken western sympathies and Catholic tendencies every door was finally closed against him. The rest of his life was spent in travel, study and writing often under great difficulties from the Government censor. He ultimately joined the Roman Catholic Church, and died in 1900. He never married, and always remained a layman. This work is a voice out of the old world, and the Russia of to-day is the antithesis of all he taught concerning

the Church and national life. The matter and style will not lead to any popular reading. The whole book is saturated with as deep dyed Romanist view of God, Man and the Church as any inspired work from that quarter could possibly be. The Pope or Rome is not once mentioned, but there is only one Church, having its descent direct from the Godhead through the bishops. The only mention of any Christianity outside the Church is given in a few words towards the end of the discussion, in which it is stated that: 'founders and leaders of sects separated from the Church have their ministry founded on self and pride and for ever bear witness to themselves.' They have not come through the Church's hierarchy which is alone of God and holy. It is plain that not many are likely to enter into life if the spiritual foundations set forth here are the essential ones to be understood and entered into. It seems that everything the Church says ought to be accepted without question as holy and unalterable; the Church being something very different from what is understood by the priesthood of believers. This author's easy certainty about all the deep matters he touches, God, man, life and death, and the finality of things in earth and heaven is just a little startling. His knowledge of the mysterious depths of our Lord's person is not impressive, he knows so much that is hidden, his knowledge is too profound. In any case it can have very little meaning for the average Christian believer in the Reformed Church; it will possibly interest the theologian and philosopher. It is manifest that the writer had large social sympathies, and was dedicated to the purpose of what he conceived as the crown rights of Christ, but always through his view of the Church. The whole is meant to set forth a neat scheme of salvation through and by the dominance of the Church; the Church and all it contains as the Kingdom of God on earth. The book is a mixture of theology, philosophy and devotional comment, and will make its appeal to Methodists only as they are specially attracted to things Russian, influenced perhaps by an appreciation of the well-known Russian novelists.

W. G. T. BAKER.

Purify Your Hearts. By S. Kierkegaard. Translated from the Danish by A. S. Aldworth and W. S. Ferrie. (The C. C. Daniel Co., Ltd. 7s. 6d.)

Kierkegaard is little known this side of the water though in Europe he has been acclaimed as one of the greatest thinkers of last century. Attention has recently been drawn to his name by frequent acknowledgements of debt to his works by Barth and Brunner, and more particularly by two small books in English giving some account of his life and teaching—*Kierkegaard, his Life and Thought*, and *Soren Kierkegaard, his Life and Religious Teaching*, by J. A. Bain. The above work is one of three discourses published in 1847 at Copenhagen, and is a discursive and extraordinarily subtle exposition of the text 'Cleanse your hands ye sinners and purify your hearts ye double minded'. The tenor of the argument, as its author points out on page

142, is that if man is to achieve an undivided will he must will what is good. Then *possibly* he might have an undivided will. But if it is to become *actual* then he has to will the Good truly. Kierkegaard, in developing his thesis (for like Bushnell's sermons, his discourses are more like theses than discourses) describes at great length, and with great psychological insight, the difference between prudence used as a means of evasion and the virtue of prudence employed to guard oneself against evasion. To be single-minded is to be pure, and to attain that distinction one must be willing 'to suffer all for the Good, and to be and stay with the Good in decision'. Although published so long ago as 1847, one seems to be looking at our own modern world with its busyness and self-deceptions as he reads this book. There are many passages that reveal the poet as well as the philosopher, and flashes of genius that bring one into the presence of naked truth. *Purify Your Hearts* must be wrestled with to get its message, but one reading will create a thirst for other works of this virile mind.

J. H. BODGENER.

The Roots of Religion in the Human Soul. By John Baillie.
(James Clarke & Co. 1s.)

This volume in the 'Challenge Series' is a first class reprint. No one doubts that the present situation in religion is as critical as when this book was written in 1926, perhaps it is even more so. Dr. Baillie, as Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh University, is well qualified for the study of so vital a subject. The post-war years found us with a devitalized Church without much reality in faith and with many sectarian divisions. On the other hand there was, and is, a faith in deeds and loyalties. The difficult state of affairs calls for a re-discovery of religion which will command the attention of those who are outside. The first business is the removal of misunderstandings. Religion is more than philosophical speculation, sentiment or mysticism. The second duty is the finding of real religion which is a practical loyalty to God's will rather than a belief in miracles or prophecies. It is an alignment with the Eternal. Dr. Baillie goes on to define Christianity which is religion at its best and widest, faith in God at its surest and clearest. It is the Word made flesh in which we see not only a Christ like God but a God like Christ. The book closes with a study of how faith arises in the soul. When men have right moral values faith enters the soul. Religious conviction comes in the context of duty and goodness rather than that of pure intellect. These studies have much value for men to-day.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY AND TRAVEL

Recollections and Appreciations. By A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D.
 Edited by Wilbert F. Howard, M.A., D.D. (The Epworth
 Press. 6s.)

Most cordial thanks are due to Dr. Howard for this labour of love. Many will be happy to know that these delightful *causeries*, collected mainly from the pages of the *Holborn Review*, are now given more accessible and permanent form. The book renders a double service; it furnishes a valuable guide to the work of leading scholars during a fruitful period in biblical studies, and it enables the reader to see Professor Peake as it were through his own eyes. Hosts of the students of that revered teacher will want to read this book if only to recall the charm and inspiration of his word and work. The necessary task of assembling these informal sketches has been done, as we should expect, with masterly skill. That editorial work has its peculiar difficulties none knew better than Dr. Peake himself. It must suffice here to say that Dr. Howard's selection and arrangement of so much diversified material is admirable. The chief place is rightly given to foremost biblical scholars, and the relative proportion assigned to the Old and the New Testaments accords entirely with Dr. Peake's eminence in both fields. But other interests are served in the appreciations of two great editors and by a general section which includes the preacher, philosopher, historian, lexicographer, and three Methodist statesmen, one of whom is the honoured veteran Dr. Scott Lidgett. Dr. Howard has added greatly to the value of the book by supplying a large number of footnotes which provide biographical and literary details up-to-date, and by a full index. No summary is possible or desirable, for unquestionably this is a book to read and enjoy. There is a pleasing catholicity about the contents. Learning overleaps national and sectarian bounds. Baron von Hügel is here along with the luminaries of Jewish and German scholarship, nor is Loisy denied a place. Every page attests the range of Dr. Peake's learning, his remarkable gift of mediating the assured results of biblical research, the penetration and sanity of his judgements of men and movements, and not least his keen sense of humour. How entertaining—and revealing!—are some of his digressions. For example, the reader will share both the astonishment at A. H. Sayce's notion of a Methodist circuit and 'Super' (p. 77), and the pathos of Cheyne's obsession with his Jerahmeelite theory (p. 31f.). The book is attractively produced and is remarkably accurate (we note only two printer's errors on pp. 17, 225, where 'He' and 'Gressmann' are each shorn of the final letter). If the reviewer may presume to speak for all those in lasting debt to A. S. Peake, he would tender to the Editor warmest gratitude for so generously undertaking this memorial and the companion volume which is to follow.

H. G. MEECHAM.

The Theory of Religious Liberty in England 1603-39. By T. Lyon, B.A. (Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d.)

This book is described as a study of the birth of religious liberty, among the differing creeds of the early seventeenth century. At the outset the distinction is made between the two sorts of believers in toleration: first, those who are convinced that they possess essential truth and who are not enamoured of toleration except in that it is preferable to persecution; second, those for whom truth is not an essential possession, in credal form, and for whom, in consequence, toleration is a right—vital to intellectual freedom. If the Latitudinarians can be regarded as illustrating the second, the Presbyterians of the seventeenth century may be an example of the first. In some measure the Stuart age had inherited the ideas of religious repression which had been put into practice in different ways during the age of the Tudors; for, while it is true that the Elizabethan Government had ultimately to show severity to 'nonconformists', particularly Roman Catholics, in the cause of the safety of the realm, it is equally true, as Mr. Lyon is careful to point out, that religion could not be kept out of politics, and that the later Elizabethan insistence on uniformity, at any rate as upheld by the Anglicans, was akin to the Lutheran theory of the godly ruler governing the Church and suppressing spiritual error. But spiritual error can be variously defined, as also can the amount of suppression needed, and Anglicans were not the only party who had the chance to put their definition into operation. Yet Whitgift left a legacy to Laud of the policy of persecution as a means of obtaining religious uniformity, and Laud believed that 'unity cannot long continue in the Church, where uniformity is shut out of the door'. Such a view received fierce reinforcement at the Restoration: it was a ferocity not to be forgotten at the Revolution, when the Stuarts and the policy they represented were discarded by the nation and toleration was at length accepted in principle. The Separatist idea of religious liberty is traced in two chapters in the middle of the book. Early Congregationalism is seen to derive its impetus from Henry Jacob rather than from Browne; it becomes growingly distinct from Independency as the seventeenth century advances. The disciples of Barrow come nearer to Separatism in that they assert that the spiritual basis of the Church should be voluntary and that excommunication should not deprive persons of civil rights, yet they would have refused to practise complete toleration to 'error'. In the Baptist movement, Arminian then Calvinist in type, Separatism appears in full, though with the advent of the Calvinist type not so much is heard about liberty in religion. The Anglican Latitudinarians speak on this subject with refreshing breadth. Chillingworth makes a plea that men should content themselves with adhering to the plain truths of Scripture, and instead of being zealous Papists, earnest Calvinists, and rigid Lutherans, they should themselves become and allow others to remain plain and honest Christians (page 171). Sir Thomas Browne, of the same school, complains that 'particular Churches and sects usurp the gates

of heaven, and turn the key against each other; and thus we go to heaven against each other's wills' (page 184). Mr. Lyon's authoritative book not only draws attention to past intolerance in such ways, but also furnishes a useful reminder that intolerance in the domain of religion is still less liked in modern England.

H. WATKIN-JONES.

Arminianism. By Dr. A. W. Harrison. (Duckworth's Theology Series. 5s.)

To the admirable volumes already published in Duckworth's Theology Series, the editor of the Series, Dr. A. W. Harrison, Principal of Westminster College, has added from his own pen a book on Arminianism. The stern winds of the centuries under review blow from the pages and convict the present age of a certain softness. The times were times of iron and fire, and there were giants in those days, giants in perversity as well as in conviction. This is revealed by one little point made by Dr. Harrison, that the Pilgrim Fathers did not flee to America from their refuge in Holland because they feared oppression, but in some fiercer mood that sought to preserve their sons from becoming Dutchmen. In the same heroic vein is the little vignette of winter congregations skating great distances to worship, and of the unlikeable preacher who is only revealed to us under the nickname of the Ice Bird. The breathless hurry of these crowded pages brings vividly home a world of other values and other rôles. King James the First goes to Oxford early in 1616 to exhort the students of St. Mary's to study the Fathers and not modern compendiums of theology. Uncles flog stubborn nephews in vain attempts to win them back to orthodoxy. Daynes preaches at Whitehall on seventeen Christmas Days seventeen different sermons on the Nativity, each one balancing its theme, 'Love alone did it' amid 'deep points and dangerous'. What a world away from King George's homely homilies broadcast in recent years! Indeed, one must guard while reading this book against receiving an exaggerated idea of the dominance of theology over all life, and remind one's self that men wept and loved, bought and sold, and had wives and children in spite of their seeming to be consumed by the passion for speculation. What else could be in a world where Nature remained locked without a key, and heaven and the unseen seemed the only breach in the imprisoning walls to which the human mind could direct its cavalry? Dr. Harrison is aware his theme descends from the torrentful hills to the level plains, and notes how the decline of dogmatism is due largely to the coming of the scientific temper when in the late Stuarts attention turned from the heavenly to the earthly Jerusalem. Men became aware the visible world existed to challenge and to reward with immediate gifts. Perhaps it is the illusion of distance, and perhaps other causes are equally responsible, but these tangible gifts seem to have been bought at the price of a great loss. Gone out of life is something that sparkled and gleamed in the light of unearthly fires. Like the exiled angels we

miss, as they missed, the call of the trumpets in the morning. In these level fields to-day's speculation flows so passively. Our communion with the unseen is so much a camaraderie with an unawful Lord from whom we have omitted as from ourselves, a will. Poetry has turned to the irony of nature, and music to the tragic inevitabilities of the soul as substitutes for the wilfulness of God. Religion with so little of the Will of God in it can be so easily ignored and lights up no mighty peaks and sings no mystic songs in the soul. Here is one chapter in the story of the human mind's endeavour to reckon with the Will of God. It begins in an over confidence of the Continental Calvinists who combined a curiosity which pried into the deepest mysteries with an overwhelming sense of the Divine Majesty. In England, with the Cambridge Platonists and Latitudinarians there came bashfulness which brought a blessed doubt to logic, and the poets opened the door to mercy. The tide had already turned when John Wesley appeared. With his peculiar aptitude he sensed and caught the wind which was to prevail, for which his own sense of the Divine Love lifted its mighty canvas. There was a 'dying fall' in the arguments for the Decrees which he left to his loyal supporter Fletcher to refute while he himself, in inn parlour and on open moor proclaimed a Word which left little foothold in the common mind for eternal reprobation. All this is told by Dr. Harrison in a fashion which makes enjoyable reading, thanks to a certain pressed quickness of rhythm. He takes us by a way that might so easily have been tedious and invests it with interest by rather delightful sidelights. There is Andrewes turning back to 'the two Testaments, the three Creeds, the four Gospels and the five first centuries'. Nor does he miss the chance of quoting Burns' 'Holy Willie's Prayer', nor the toast given in the inn, 'Here's to the health of all who don't legalize the Gospel'. Dr. Harrison thinks the sweet and gentle faith of Whittier may not be adequate for our post-war world, and that Barth's nearer kinship with Calvin may well herald the re-fighting of old battles.

PERCY J. BOYLING.

The English Missionaries in Sweden and Finland. By C. J. A. Oppermann, M.A., Ph.D. (S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d.)

The conversion of Sweden was a difficult proposition, more difficult than that of England; there were more pagan customs which needed to be given up, while the Papacy afforded less encouragement than in the English case. Yet the English Church was 'mainly responsible for the successful establishment of Christianity' in Sweden, and the account of how this came to be so is given by Dr. Oppermann in a manner both authoritative and interesting. We can agree that it is improbable that so early as the reign of the English king, Alfred, any carefully thought out plan for a heathen Scandinavian empire could have existed; however, the Battle of Hastings decided that England should not form part of any such empire, as our Danish ruler Knut seems to have intended. So Christianity was launched against

heathenism in Sweden, with its stern deities and even human sacrifices, and the struggle proceeded for three hundred years. The missionaries of these early medieval years regarded these deities as evil powers, as the Early Church had regarded them, and it proved hard for some of their Christian converts to abandon altogether the cults associated with them. The situation in Finland was similar. But English Christianity, fortunately of a zealous missionary type, took Sweden in its stride, advancing later into Finland. Norway had already been indebted to English missionaries in the tenth century, and Sweden benefited from their efforts in the eleventh—efforts which, unlike the case of Norway, were practically unaccompanied by crusading force. Sigfrid, Eskil, and David are outstanding names of Christian pioneers in Sweden; these blazed the trail, which was followed by English diocesan bishops and by English monks, Cistercian, Dominican, and Franciscan. The Romanization of the Swedish Church was really due to the mission of the English Cardinal, Nicholas Breakspear, in the twelfth century; he it was who was to become Adrian IV, the one and only English Pope. Another Englishman, Stephen, became in due course the first Archbishop of Upsala. Of Finland not so much is known, but in the Christian history of that country both of the two leading missionaries were English: Henry, probably consecrated by Breakspear, and Thomas, consecrated by order of Innocent III; the former the chief pioneer, the latter the chief consolidator of Finnish faith in Christ. There was room for such a book, for knowledge of the progress of Christianity in these northern lands has not been too easy to come by, and here it is presented in a complete and most readable form. The book is fully annotated, though the numbering of the footnotes from 1 to 837 is unusual and its advantages are not obvious. There is also an ample list of authorities. Dr. Oppermann has completed a highly useful volume, which we heartily commend.

H. WATKIN-JONES.

Memories and Meanings of My Life. By Alfred E. Garvie, M.A., D.D., D.Th. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 8s. 6d.)

This is one of the most interesting autobiographies that has appeared for a long time past. Dr. Garvie has not only won a considerable reputation as a theological scholar, and played a prominent part in ecclesiastical affairs, but he happens to have had a singularly varied experience of life. His grandfathers both left Scotland for Poland during the third decade of the last century, one of them to be the manager of a flour mill, and the other to carry on his trade of linen weaving there. In the next generation Dr. Garvie's father was the manager of a prosperous weaving business at Zyrardow, in the neighbourhood of Warsaw. All Dr. Garvie's early memories are therefore of life in Poland, and there is a very interesting chapter on the condition of the country, which was then, of course, under Russian rule. The boy was brought to Scotland for his education, and was for some

years at George Watson's College, the well-known Edinburgh school. Then he went into business for a few years, spending much of his leisure in Christian work. The call to the ministry came, and though the young man had been bred a Presbyterian, it was the Congregationalist ministry to which he gave himself, mainly because it did not require subscription to a creed. He graduated at Glasgow, and then went on to Mansfield. After this Mr. Garvie (as he then was) held a pastorate for two years at the small town of Macduff, in Banff, and then another in Montrose, for eight years. In 1903 he went on the professorial staff of Hackney and New College, and in 1907 he became Principal of New College, a post which he held until his retirement in 1933. The considerable contributions of Dr. Garvie to theological literature are known to all students. This is the barest outline of a singularly full and fruitful life, recorded in these pages with an engaging simplicity. There is a good deal of interesting detail, and many shrewd comments on men and things. The earlier part of the book is the most interesting, naturally, because of what it tells us of a childhood in Poland, and also because of what it reflects of the life of a past generation in Scotland. But the whole book is well worth reading, as the story of a distinguished scholar's life, and a much more unusual and romantic record than the autobiography of a scholar generally is.

HENRY BETT.

John Wesley Came This Way. By Richard Pyke. (Epworth Press. 5s.)

The writer of the foreword to this well-made book says, 'Any new biography of Wesley calls for justification, remembering the large number now available'. It is equally true that the particular viewpoint of the author justifies his volume. In it John Wesley becomes his own biographer for it is based on his *Journal* and *Works*, and the book is welded into an admirable whole by the writer's own estimate of the character and times of Wesley. The style is excellent and the record is set forth in ten studies which cover the story of John Wesley, his brother Charles and George Whitefield. The book is worthy of the Bicentenary celebration which is to be held this year. A careful reading will equip those who have to speak on that occasion, and inspire all who are desirous of knowing the facts and significance of the great event. We commend the book unreservedly.

SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

The Good Society. By Walter Lippmann. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 10s. 6d. net.)

This is a great book, and it is to be hoped that it will attract the attention it deserves from the thinkers of the world. It is a plea for a return to liberalism as the true policy for a world society such as the present which is based on the principle of the division of labour. The grand heresy of to-day, the author contends, is what he terms 'collectivism'—the theory that the economic energies of a nation can be planned, organized and directed towards a purposed goal. He points out what this implies on the part of the directing authority, whether it be an almighty dictator or a dominant oligarchy—a superhuman knowledge and wisdom to discern the sort of life that is best for a people and to make the infinite adjustments necessary to secure it. It is an impossible task, and the attempt to carry it out involves the complete slavery of the people. Communism on the one hand and Fascism on the other, however they may differ in certain respects and pose as the irreconcilable enemies each of the other, have this in common—the complete regimentation of the people so that a man has ceased to be a free agent and become a mere cog in a machine. What he calls 'gradual collectivism', by which he appears to mean the constitutional democratic movement towards State Socialism, belongs to the same category and must logically reach the same end. The fundamental error in Collectivism is its belief that economic weaknesses can be corrected by direct political action; that the State can somehow increase wealth by interference with industry. The State can, by tariff adjustments, by the granting of concessions and monopolies, give prosperity to one branch of industry or one set of interests at the expense of others, but it is powerless by this means to promote the general good. Hence in practice gradual collectivism works out to the pressure of groups on the Government for special concessions. Collectivism is the appropriate system for a time of war, when the nation has one end in view and all its energies have to be directed to that end; whence the militarist character of all the dictatorship States. But in time of peace there is no one simple end but a multiplicity of ends towards which infinitely diversified individuals and cultural groups are striving. The only way in which unity can be secured amid this diversity, and the clashes in the industrial world be justly settled, is by the creation of open markets in which all energies and products will be rightly evaluated. The author's treatment of historic liberalism is most interesting and illuminating. He rehabilitates Adam Smith and other economists of the early years of the Industrial Revolution, claiming that they have not been truly understood. They saw much more clearly than did their successors what was involved in the new conditions created by the division of labour. Later liberalism made the great mistake of thinking that freedom meant the maintenance of the

status quo, and hence arose the doctrine of *laissez-faire* which became the motto of the Manchester School. But *laissez-faire* is no part of liberalism. It is an utter mistake to suppose that the Government has nothing whatever to do with the industrial life and economic energies of the people. It determines through its laws the conditions of the struggle, and, as the industrial world is never stagnant but always moving and always changing, it is necessary that new laws should be continually passed to redress injustices and keep the balances even between contending interests. In the nineteenth century there were giant wrongs, and when liberalism assumed the attitude of 'hands off industry' it forced the reforming spirits along the path of collectivism. In a striking figure Mr. Lippmann shows how liberalism kept to the main highway of progress but stood still, while the reformers pressed forward but along a path that must prove a *cul-de-sac*. The world has now to make its choice between collectivism which spells slavery and war and liberalism which spells freedom and peace. The reasoning of this book is very powerful, all the more so because it is so calmly and impartially logical. There is never any attempt to carry a position by rhetoric, or to press a contention unduly, or to overlook what may be said for the other side. Through its steady logical progress, however, the author's hatred of tyranny and passion for freedom shine forth. It is a hatred and a passion that we share with him. Autocracy, whether it flies the Communist flag of Russia or the Fascist flag of Italy or the Nazi flag of Germany, is a thing accursed. Better die as free men than live as slaves. My only doubt is whether Collectivism and Individualism are such absolute contraries as Mr. Lippman postulates. He allows that there are certain great public services which may fittingly be run by the State, and that suggests that the amount of collectivism that may advantageously be introduced is a changing quantity. His liberal ideal appears to be an open market in which conflicting interests shall fight under conditions as fair as the law can make them. But surely the ultimate Christian ideal of society is one in which struggle has been replaced by co-operation. The author does not claim to have outlined a final or perfect social system, and one would like to see how the co-operative principle can be introduced into, and be gradually extended in, his liberalism. Against a rigid authoritarian State Socialism we set our faces as against a despotism that would kill the finest flowers of our culture; but the modern Socialist, in this country at any rate, does not look to the political State as such for salvation, and is perhaps the strongest upholder of personal liberty in the community.

E. B. STORR.

Civitas Dei. Vol. III. By Lionel Curtis. (Macmillan. 5s.)

Those who have studied Mr. Curtis's two previous books with this title will welcome the third and concluding volume now issued, in which the principles stated in the first are applied to the position of world affairs as stated in the second. It is hardly possible to review the book apart from its predecessors, and to refer to them is not necessary, as

only those who have read the former books will be able to make much use of this. They will, however, find that it has all the qualities which gave its predecessors their reputation. One or two slips catch the eye. Why does Mr. Curtis repeat a well-known saying as 'Man cannot live by bread alone'? Again, repeating Mark xii. 29-31 ('The Lord our God the Lord is One', and 'thou shalt love the Lord thy God', &c.). Mr. Curtis says, 'Whether our Lord was the first to say this, or whether He was merely quoting words which Jewish Rabbis had used before him is a question of no importance'. But surely Mr. Curtis has not forgotten the source of these two commandments, not in Christ's words nor in those of the rabbis, but in the Old Testament? One thing is made clear by this concluding volume. The critics who said that Mr. Curtis was an exponent of the 'British Kingdom of God' will find that though he believes the beginning of a new 'civitas Dei' on earth must be made amongst the self-governing British Dominions, the result would be that others would follow, 'the more the better'.

E.S.W.

Children of the Veld. By Robert H. W. Shepherd. (James Clarke & Co. 6s.)

The Children of the Veld is a most refreshing book and as a venture in overseas missions advocacy we believe it will command attention and produce conviction. It reveals the daily life of the Bantu folk, among whom the author has spent twenty years of his life. The revelation of the domestic habits of the natives, the stories of their superstitions and folk-lore make fascinating reading. In addition the element of adventure and the records of travel will make an appeal to those who are not usually concerned with missions. The chapters are separate studies of Bantu life and in the presentation of his argument in vignette form, the author will have provided many speakers with good material written in excellent literary style. Herein is real art, which is artless, brimming over with humour, information and moving appeal. The illustrations in the book add much to its value.

GENERAL

Invertebrate Spain. By José Ortega y Gasset. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 7s. 6d.)

One of the most interesting Spanish thinkers of to-day is José Ortega y Gasset, the author of the well-known book *Revolt of the Masses*. In this new work, translated by Mildred Adams, he suggests that the causes of the Spanish Civil War are deep-seated in the past. He maintains that the political power of Spain in the sixteenth century was more apparent than real. Writing in 1922, he felt that the greater nations had no cure for the ills of Spain. He hints that new and purposeful life may be found amongst the smaller peoples. The title of his book is also the title of the longest section in it, but each of the other nine essays contributes to his subsequent answer to the question 'What lies behind the Spanish Civil War?' With his keenly critical facility he analyses 'the great historic forces which have moulded the national character'. 'The great misfortune of Spanish history has been the lack of eminent minorities and the undisturbed predominance of the masses. From now on a new imperative must govern our spirits and order our wills—the imperative of selection'. Thus, he maintains, is the way to racial purification. The book is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the present situation and is a sane corrective to much ill-balanced thinking on the subject.

The Population Problem. (Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 5s. net.)

This is based on a series of broadcast talks. Mr. T. H. Marshall writes on 'What the Public Thinks'; Professor A. M. Carr-Saunders on 'The Situation in England'; Mr. H. D. Henderson on 'Economic Consequences and Causes and Remedies'; Mr. R. R. Kuczynski on 'World Population', and Professor Arnold Plant on 'Population Trends and International Migration'. Those who regard the population question as one of increasing importance will find this book helpful and will be grateful for the light thrown on the problem from the economic point of view.

An Introduction to Symbolic Logic. By Susanne K. Langer. (George Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.)

The newer developments of Logic in a mathematical direction have hitherto gone upon different lines, so that we have had formal logic, algebraical logic, the logic of mathematics, and 'logistics' all competing for attention. The effect has been bewildering, and there was great need of a book which showed their mutual relations and generalized their results. Mrs. Langer has provided us with the necessary account, and must be said to have done so with great skill and clarity. She claims to take us, without special logical or mathematical equipment, from common sense to Whitehead and Russell's *Principia Mathematica*. We believe that this claim, given patience and hard work on the part

of the reader, can be sustained, though we must admit to have faltered as the *Principia* came into sight. Still, the present book is the best, and indeed the only work, which gives a lucid and comprehensive account of the main fields of Symbolic Logic. We could only wish that the Symbolists would not make exaggerated claims for their science, which they often regard as identical with Logic or even with Philosophy itself. Thus Mrs. Langer says that the *Principia Mathematica* is the starting point of the greatest logical work that has yet been done. Some of us would reserve that claim for (say) Hegel's Logic, or other works which have a far wider scope even than being 'a foundation of mathematics and science'.

ATKINSON LEE.

Preaching. By G. Campbell Morgan, D.D. (Marshall, Morgan & Scott. 2s. 6d.)

Dr. G. Campbell Morgan has an international reputation as an expositor and herein writes of his method of sermon preparation. This is a book of practical advice to preachers, and is based on sixty years' work in the pulpits of Christendom. The matter of this volume is the embodiment of lectures on the subject given in this country and America. Preaching is the prime work of every Christian minister. He is the teller of good news and the bearer of the King's decrees. His business is to capture the will of man by proclaiming the love of God. The sermon must be marked by truth, clarity and passion. The truth we preach must be freshly apprehended and must bear the hall-mark of authority. The text must be a passage of inspiration from the Holy Writ and woven into a discourse. It is an authoritative message which must always be regarded as such. Its choice may be inspired by Bible reading, national need, the necessity of doctrine or personal experience. As to the treatment of a text the author has many wise things to say. The central message of a sermon has many pitfalls for the preacher, but here Dr. Morgan guides us on true paths to real goals. The book concludes with a study of the introduction and the conclusion of a sermon. The purpose of the first is to introduce the theme to the listeners with simplicity, pertinence and courtesy. The second concludes, includes and precludes, using both the intellect and the emotions. Dr. Campbell Morgan has enriched homiletic literature by his book.

Inside India. By Halidé Edib. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

In this unbiased survey of Indian life to-day the authoress of a fascinating book—*Inside India*—paints some vivid pictures, comments, with keen insight and gives us her balanced judgement on passing events. She has the great advantage of combining East and West in her own natural outlook. Though a Muslim she has a most sympathetic attitude to Hindus. The book is much more readable than many on this subject by contemporary writers, for its philosophy is not abstract statement but is introduced and reinforced by human

contacts. At the same time it is far more than a series of personal memories. It makes a distinct contribution to the understanding of some of the key problems of national and international importance.

Rule of the Road. By Anne Byrd Payson. (Putnam. 3s. 6d.)

A sequel is a most difficult book to produce, but here is one which is of great value and much interest. The author's first book *I follow the Road* has evoked this extension. Mrs. Payson appears to be vitally interested in her readers' lives, and interprets, with a spiritual insight, the common problems of common people. The book is of the type of Harold Begbie's *Broken Earthenware* in its delineation of men and women whose lives are changed by the love of God, but the social stratum from which they come is totally different. Here is a group of men and women one might easily meet in the ordinary affairs of life. The chief characters in the book are a farmer, a dancer, a lady of the church and a prosperous middle-aged man, and around these actual folk the problems emerge that concern us all. There is much that is characteristic of the Oxford Group in these human stories for their sharing and their honesty issue in surrender to God and love for all about them. Here is the Gospel at work in the most convincing way amongst the people we need for the Kingdom and the Church. The book is vivid, well written and, despite the American idioms, it is well worth study, and one hopes it will be acted upon as far as opportunity offers.

The Bible Puzzle Book. By Mitchell Hughes. (James Clarke & Co. 3s. 6d.)

This is an ingenious and intriguing volume of thirty Bible stories. On the yellow paper wrapper, they are described as 'exciting mystery stories'—and they are. Drawn from some of the lesser known parts of the Old Testament, they both awaken interest and reveal one's ignorance. The writer reconstructs his stories, sometimes from a few verses; and does the telling well. He discovers adventure and romance along unfamiliar by-paths. No names are given to the characters, but the solutions (with references) are to be found in an appendix at the end. The titles are well chosen and arresting; such as, 'A Giant and His Iron Bed'; 'The One-armed Swordsman'; 'A Child and his Wicked Grandmother'; 'The Thief who Built a Church'; 'A Pair of Nobodies'; 'A King in a Poor Man's Jacket'. Oded, the prophet, whose great achievement is related in 2 Chronicles xxviii. 6-15, comes to life as 'A Hebrew Abraham Lincoln'. 'Two Men of Mystery' tells of the two Enochs—how many of us realized there were two?—both of whom strangely disappeared. I told the story the other Sunday morning, much to the delight of the children. This is an ideal 'Sunday Book' for Girls and Boys—entertaining and instructive. Parents and teachers will find it useful as a means of making the Bible live, and bringing to light its great human qualities.

A. J. D. LLEWELLYN.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

The Hibbert Journal. (January).—This number contains the usual wide variety of subjects, opening with a continuation of: An Autobiography of Thought, by Baron von Oppell, consisting of philosophising on God and the world. One of the most interesting entries in this diary of thought is on Marble Arch orators. Also a soliloquy on individual immortality in which it is stated, 'given the choice between living eternally as an individual spirit free from human pain and joy or of arising again to another human life, I would choose the latter'. Principal John Murray writes on, 'The human basis of the League of Nations', in which he points to the meaning of true democracy as a nation of friends, and has the temerity to ask, 'What must the nations do to be saved with the British Salvation?' and then proceeds to an answer. Religion as a factor in human history, is the theme dealt with by R. B. Mowat in a brief article revealing his power of condensation. Dr. G. K. Bowes deals with the declining intelligence in Western Civilization, in which he seems to satisfy himself that there seems no escape from the conclusion that decline in intelligence must bring about the collapse of civilization. For 'progress' at present means 'higher sky-scrapers, larger picture palaces, swifter motor cars and aeroplanes, luxurious hotels, and with it all, the destruction of men's souls'. Dr. C. J. Wright, of Didsbury College, has a long and excellent discussion on, 'The abiding significance of the Reformation'. Professor A. H. Dodd, at some length, and in an informative way, considers the place of, 'The Nonconformist Conscience in Public Life'. Lovers of Dickens will be interested in J. M. Connell's consideration of, 'The Religion of Charles Dickens', in which the effort is to show that the great author though greatly influenced by Dr. Channing and Edward Tagart, was sufficiently reconciled to the Established Church to be reckoned a Churchman again. Hymns, as Religion and Poetry, The Historical Value of the Fourth Gospel, and Sport as a medium of international friendship, all add their thoughtful contribution to another excellent number of the *Journal*, together with the usual full Reviews.

Expository Times (January).—There is a discriminating discussion on Conrad Noel's 'Life of Jesus' in the Notes which holds the balance between the individualist and collectivist interpretations of the Kingdom of God. The article on the Basis of Worship (Dr. Hislop) is timely. It emphasizes, from several points of view, the twofold nature of worship, the action of God whereby He reveals Himself, producing 'the wonder of the redeemed before the Deliverer'; and the receptivity of the soul whereby the worshipper is united with the object of his adoration and is equipped for life's conflict. Dr. Meecham's

scholarly paper on the Epistle of St. James should not be missed. In the Reviews, it is curious that books by a husband and wife should be noticed in the same month, for Dr. Harrison's 'Arminianism', and Mrs. Harrison's 'Son to Susanna' (in which review a needed good word for Charles Wesley occurs) are both highly commended. (*February*).—This month might be called a union issue. Lippmann's 'Good Society', Dr. Harold Roberts' article on Fellowship in Worship and Smart's 'Return of Theology to the Church'—with light on the work of Barth—are three notable contributions. Mr. Hodkins' 'Authority of the Bible To-day' will be found useful. (*March*).—More about the Bible is given by Dr. Morrison's 'Reformation and the English Bible', and there is a fine article on Canon Streeter (Hardwick). Every preacher should read Principal Cocks on The Sermon in Worship. J. S. Stewart, of Edinburgh, continues the interesting series on Old Texts in Modern Translations.

R. WINBOULT HARDING.

The Congregational Quarterly (January).—Dr. James Reid writes on 'Personal Immortality and the Second Coming'. He thinks the Church has much to learn from the re-valuation of the eschatology of Jesus and reminds us that as Christians we are now living in the age to come. The Kingdom of God is here and life in this Kingdom is what the New Testament calls 'eternal life'—a new quality of life, ethical through and through, here and now. Christ's Presence can only be realized in moral and spiritual terms and His reality can only be perceived by moral insight. The Rev. Gwilym O. Griffith discusses 'Authoritarianism in the Free Churches' and notes three approaches to certitude: the 'witness within'—the testimony of our own individual reason and conscience; the confirmation or correction which comes to us through our association with our fellows; and the testimony of tradition—the witness and wisdom of the ages. 'The Bible only is the Religion of Protestants' is the text of Dr. H. Wheeler Robinson's article. He holds that the Bible authoritatively interpreted by the Church stands over against 'the Bible only' of Protestantism. Other excellent features include articles by the Revs. Alex Small and H. E. Brierley and a sermon by Dr. A. Herbert Gray.

AMERICAN

The Moslem World (January).—With this issue the *Moslem World* enters upon a new phase of its existence. After twenty-seven years of independent editorship, Dr. Zwemer is transferring the sponsorship of this valuable periodical to the Hartford Seminary Foundation where it will be in the capable hands of the professors of Islamics of the Kennedy School of Missions. It is gratifying to know that Dr. Zwemer will continue to edit it with Dr. E. E. Calverley as co-editor. The continuance of the publication, however, is conditional upon the raising of a special fund to supplement the normal income, and all who recognize the service rendered by Dr. Zwemer, through

this excellent medium are invited to send contributions to the Treasurer, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York. A well deserved tribute is paid to Dr. Zwemer by Dr. Julius Richter, Professor Emeritus of Missions in the University of Berlin, who considers him a key personality in the field of Moslem Missions, and his magazine a great forum for the expression of informed opinion on this vast subject. The articles in this issue are all so illuminating that no justice can be done to them in a brief notice. Particularly is this so of Dr. Calverley's brilliant interpretation of Islam, based upon the idea that it is 'totalitarian', a new word expressing an old conception.

EDGAR B. ROEBUCK.

Journal of Theological Studies (October, 1937).—The article is by Professor H. H. Rowley and deals with the interpretation of the Song of Songs. In Notes and Studies Dom Conolly replies to a recent article by Streeter on the *Didache*. Dr. Telfer discusses the trustworthiness of Palladius. Professor R. V. G. Tasker continues his valuable examination of the text of the Chester-Beatty Papyrus (this time Acts). Professor J. M. Creed vindicates the accuracy of the late Mr. Valentine Richards' collation of the text of Acts in Codex 876, against the strictures of Professor H. A. Sanders, of Michigan. Professor T. W. Manson has an interesting note on Mark iv. 28f. and Professor D. W. Thomas and Dr. W. E. Barnes have notes on certain passages in the Hebrew Bible. There are many book reviews, including a very favourable one of Professor Clogg's recent Introduction to the New Testament. (January, 1938).—This number is by no means so rich as its predecessor. The article is a document, 'The Calendar of the Augustinian Priory of Launceston in Cornwall', by F. Wormald. The three most interesting Notes and Studies are one on 'Universal Mental Time', by Sir Joseph Larmor, a contribution read before the New Testament Seminar at Cambridge, by D. Daube (a study of the word *exousia* in Mark i. 22 and 27), and a paper by Professor Claude Jenkins on Augustine's classical quotations in his letters. But the most valuable item in the number is Professor Stanley Cook's 'Old Testament Chronicle'.

Religion in Life (Winter Number, 1937).—This admirable American quarterly goes on its unwearying way under the alert editorship of Dr. Langdale. This number opens with three articles on 'Oxford' or 'Edinburgh' or both, the writers being Dr. Adams Brown, Dr. E. F. Tittle, and Professor H. F. Rall. A fourth paper, on the Oxford Conference, is entitled 'As seen by a Layman', and is written by Mr. J. F. Dulles. Three other papers which deserve notice are William Paton's on 'The Ecumenical Movement and the Younger Churches', Principal Sloane Coffin's 'Let the Church be the Church', and 'An Interpretation of Karl Heim' by H. T. Kerr. Dr. R. Birch Hoyle contributes his regular article on 'Recent European Theology', but when one man attempts to deal with Hebrew commentaries, New Testament scholarship, German theology, and half a dozen other subjects each requiring the special knowledge of an expert, we cannot

help wondering whether this kind of universal knowledge does not run rather shallow. A sounder principle to follow is *Cuique in arte sua credendum est*.

Harvard Theological Review (October, 1937).—Three articles, 'The Egyptian Cults in Athens' (Sterling Dow), 'The Apology of Aristides—A Re-examination' (Robert L. Wolff), and 'The "Plain Meaning" of Isaiah xlii. 1-4' (Ralph Marcus). (*January*, 1938).—A more varied number than usual. A. J. Festugière writes a French article with notes on Hermetica. Grant McColley treats of the Book of Enoch and Paradise Lost. Marbury B. Ogle has a learned inquiry into the source of the phrase 'The way of all flesh', T. Siverstein writes on the Passage of the Souls to Purgatory in the *Divina Commedia*. F. R. Walton has a paper on the Date of the Adonia at Athens, and Professor H. J. Rose deals with a colloquialism in Plato Rep. 621.b, 8. But to many the most interesting contribution is one from Professor H. A. Sanders, with photographs, giving a fragment of the *Acta Pauli* in the Michigan collection which turns out to be from the same leaf as the Berlin fragment recently edited by Schmidt and Schubart, and noticed in the last number of the *L.Q.R.*

BELGIAN

Analecta Bollandiana (Tomus LV.—Fasc. III et IV).—This issue, a volume of 239 pages, contains a vast amount of information of Hagiographic interest. The perennial question as to whether St. Peter was ever in Rome crops up again in the review of an article 'Petrus Römischer Martyrer', by H. Lietzman, in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Hist. Phil. Kl., t. XXIX (1936). According to the reviewer the argument from the existence of the apostle's tomb will be decisive for all except those 'whose confessional prejudices obscure the clear view of things'. We learn, however, that one of the opponents, M. Heussi, has since published a reply in *Christliche Welt*, 1937, n. 5, which has itself been criticized by M. B. Altaner, in *Theologische Revue*, 1937, n. 5. Other articles deal with the Scotch and Irish legends of St. Martin of Tours, and *Hagiographica Celtica*.

ITALIAN

Il Religio (Editor, Prof. Ernesto Buonaiuti) (*November*).—The articles in this number maintain the high standard of scholarship characteristic of the review. Italo Zolli, of Trieste, discusses the meaning of the word *taljā* in the Aramaic original of John i. 29-34. He holds that the term marks a synthesis of the ideas 'lamb' and 'son' of God. The fusion of these two elements of divinity and sacrifice forms the most intimate nucleus of Christianity. Mario Vinciguerra, in an article on 'St. Philip Neri,' thinks that the Savonarola tradition had a great influence on this saint who came of a Florentine family. G. A. Colonna de Cesaro writes on 'The Christianity of Berdiaev,' the Russian thinker; and there are expository notes on Matt. xix. 24, 'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle', and Matt. vii. 6, 'Give

not that which is holy unto the dogs'. Among the many reviews are those of A. D. Lindsay's *Moral Teaching of Jesus*, Stanley A. Cook's *The Old Testament*, and Padre Hugo Pope's *St. Augustine*. An appreciative obituary notice of B. H. Streeter pays tribute to his work on the New Testament and his endeavour to correlate science and faith in *Reality*. (January).—In addition to 'Studies in the Alphabet', by Italo Zolli, there is an important article by Renato Esnault on 'Traces of Heresy in France during the Middle Ages', which should be consulted by those who wish to understand the origins of the Albigenian movement. The Editor, in a discussion on 'The Dogmas of the Lord' traces the meaning of the word *dogma* in the edicts of the Roman Empire, the New Testament, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the early apologists.

FRENCH

Foi et Vie. (38e Année. No. 3).—Four contributions in this number are devoted to the Ecumenical Conference at Oxford of July last, one of them being the paper read by the Editor, M. Pierre Maury, on 'The Unity of the Church and the Modern World.' In some 'Impressions of the Conference.' M. Edouard Thurneysen thinks that there were two opposing fronts—that of the Continental theology, founded on the Reformation, which was concerned, above all, to establish the foundations and norms of the faith, and a front inspired by 'Britannic semi-pelagianism and American activism' which was concerned, before anything else, with practical action. A decision should have been sought between these fronts. M. Albert-Marie Schmidt in an article on 'Calviniana' is inclined to think that the controversies which have waged round the name of the reformer are becoming less bitter; and he notes the opinion of the Roman Catholic writer, Raoul Morcay, that 'the Reformation gave the age a strong spiritual shock and turned towards God generous souls who would otherwise have slumbered on in pleasure and indifference'. Among other contributions are a review by Dr. Marc Deransart of three recent medical books; an article on *Corneille*, by M. Pierre Chazel; two accounts (one by Karl Barth) of the Church Conflict in Germany; and a sermon by Albert Finet on 'The Message of the Church.'

La Revue Biblique (July, 1937). In addition to the lecture by Le Père Lagrande on St. John's Gospel, an article by Le Père Benoit on 'The Pauline Horizon of the Epistle to the Ephesians,' examines the theory of M. Goguel found in his *Sketch of a New Solution to the Problem of the Epistle to the Ephesians* (Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, 1935, May-June cxi. 3). M. Goguel holds that the Epistle as we have it contains two distinct and contradictory notions of salvation, one ethical and individual and the other cosmological and collective. The latter is due to an interpolator, twenty or thirty years later, whose conception of redemption is of a vast cosmic process of which the salvation of the human race is but one of the consequences. In reply, Father Benoit maintains that there is no sign in the Epistle

of a contradiction between individual and cosmic salvation. The ethical change is still the essential thing in the apostle's soteriology, and the cosmical change is a consequence of it. It is, in short, the same fundamental Pauline doctrine as in previous epistles, in which there had already been references to cosmic powers (Rom. viii. 38, 1 Cor. xv. 24). (*October*).—A review of the volume of the Cambridge Ancient History on *The Imperial Peace* contains strictures on Streeter's views of St. John's Gospel and the theology of St. Paul.

Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni, edited by the Scuola di Studi Storico-religiosi of the R. Università di Roma. Numbers 1 and 2 for 1937 contain a review (in French) by Professor Marcel Simon, of Strasbourg, of Alfred Loisy's latest book, *Les Origines du Nouveau Testament* (1936) which he intends to be a final synthesis and completion of his exegetical work. Loisy's conclusions are as follows: 1, The writings of the New Testament, even those which independent critics are almost unanimous in recognizing, are in their present form only compilations. In particular he rejects the great Pauline epistles as unauthentic, supplementary and late, in all their references to the mystic gnosis. Only the developments of an eschatological character are truly Pauline. 2, The various documents took their final form at a date considerably later than that usually assigned to them. For example, the Synoptics in their present form are not earlier than A.D. 130-140. 3, These documents do not in any way constitute historical sources utilizable for a biography of Jesus. They are rather the legend of the cult (*légende culturelle*) which is quite different from a faithful and accurate record of His career. In his criticism Professor Simon supports the objections of authoritative scholars to this radical reconstruction of the Pauline epistles. That which Loisy considers to be the most important of his criticisms—the essential dissimilarity of the historical Paul, the preacher of the primitive Christian eschatology, from the mystical Paul, is in reality the most fragile of his arguments; for it rests on the assumption that there cannot be an historical person unless there is a rigidly logical and organized system of thought; a criterion which is difficult to apply, and which is specially contestable when applied to the realm of religious experience. These so-called incoherences will lead many to believe in the integrity of the epistles rather than in the thesis of a compilation. To say that the 'gnostic' passages are inconceivable as coming from the apostle because they reflect a later form of thought, is to misunderstand both the essence of Paulinism and the rôle played in his development by the religious environment of the Dispersion and the Hellenism in which he was born. As to the Gospels, M. Simon is doubtful whether Loisy's postponement of their final redaction to such a late date and his reduction of their value as sources to almost nothing will tend to make the history of Christian origins more comprehensive and clear. He is inclined to think that M. Loisy here lends the support of his authority to those very 'mythologies' which he is elsewhere at such pains to condemn.

HENRY HOGARTH.

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